From Joseph Baldwin — Boston
to his friend Hon. Isaac G. Reed
Waldoboro
Maine.

HISTORY

OF THE

OLD SOUTH CHURCH IN BOSTON.

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Isaac G. Reed's
Manuscript by
Joseph Ballister Esq.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

OLD SOUTH CHURCH IN BOSTON,

IN FOUR SERMONS,

DELIVERED MAY 9, & 16, 1830,

BEING THE FIRST AND SECOND SABBATHS

AFTER THE

Completion of a Century

FROM THE

FIRST OCCUPANCY OF THE PRESENT MEETING HOUSE.

BY BENJAMIN B. WISNER,
PASTOR OF THE CHURCH.

BOSTON:
CROCKER & BREWSTER, 47, WASHINGTON STREET.
.....
1830.

BOSTON COLLEGE LIBRARY
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Boston, May 17, 1830.

Dear Sir,—The undersigned have been appointed a committee of the Old South Church and Congregation, to express to you the great interest and satisfaction derived from hearing your sermons on the History of that Church; and they are directed to communicate to you the request that you will prepare and furnish a copy of the sermons for publication, as soon as your convenience will permit.

In the hope that you will be pleased to comply with this request, and that thus may be extended to others the information and instruction imparted to us, we remain,

With respect and affection, your friends and brethren,

SAM. T. ARMSTRONG,
SAMUEL DAVIS,
PLINY CUTLER,
BELA HUNTING,
THOMAS VOSE,
} *Committee.*

Rev. B. B. Wisner.

54015

SERMON I.

Haggai ii, 3.

WHO IS LEFT AMONG YOU THAT SAW THIS HOUSE IN HER FIRST GLORY?

The sabbaths of a century have been numbered, since the House in which we are assembled was first occupied for public worship. Religious services were attended in it for the first time on the 26th of April 1730; a century from which date, allowing for the difference of style,[a] (1) was completed on the 7th of the present month.

Few are left among us who saw this House in its first glory.[b] The edifice which preceded it as the place of religious worship of this society, was removed before any of its present members were born. Since the formation of this church, five generations have passed away. We must recur to the records left us by our fathers to learn, the history of the erection of this venerable edifice, the circumstances of the origin of this church, and the dealings of God with this religious society during the hundred and sixty years of its existence. Such a retrospect will, doubtless, be interesting to this congregation; it will be conformable to the general custom in the New England churches on occasions like the present, and it may be useful to us and our children.

The church now called the Old South Church in Boston, was the third Congregational church gathered in this town.[c]

(a) The figures in Parenthesis refer to the notes at the end of the sermons.

(b) Some are still living who recollect its appearance before the changes made in 1775 and 1782, to be hereafter described.

(c) The First Baptist was the third church established in Boston: it was constituted May 28, 1665. See Historical Sketch of the First Baptist Church in Boston, in two discourses by the Rev. James M. Winchell.

Like too many other churches of Christ, it originated in bitter contentions among those who are bound, by their profession, as well as by the precept of heaven, to maintain the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. The contentions referred to were not local, or of sudden production; but originated in the first ecclesiastical institutions of the country, and were spread through the whole of New England.

Our Puritan ancestors were, as a body, men of rare excellencies, of whom the world was not worthy. In their views of civil and religious liberty, they were far in advance of their age. But they had not discovered that radical principle of free institutions, the separation of church and state. These were as really, though in a radically different form, united in their early institutions, as in those from the tyrannical application of which they had fled in the mother country. (2) This was a material error; and led, in the very beginning, to the adoption of various regulations of pernicious tendency. Among these the most prominent was, "an order," made in 1631, at the second General Court held after the commencement of the colony of Massachusetts Bay, "that, for the time to come, none should be admitted to the freedom of the body politic, but such as were church members." And the tenure of the church membership, and of the enjoyment of any church privilege, was, at that time, that of the New Testament, viz. satisfactory evidence of regeneration.[d] "This most extraordinary law," says Hutchinson, was in fact "continued in force until the dissolution of the" charter "government;" though it was "repealed in appearance after the restoration of king Charles the second."[e] It occasioned discontent from the beginning; for there were, from the first settlement, a considerable number of persons not church members; who were, of course, excluded from all civil offices, and from having any voice in elections, and yet were subject to taxation and the various burdens of public service. (3) The number of these gradually increased, partly by emigration, but chiefly by the growing up of children of the first settlers who did not become church members. They soon began to complain of their unjust burdens and re-

(d) That this is the tenure prescribed by the Scriptures see proved in President Edwards' Inquiry concerning the qualifications requisite to Full Communion; Works, Vol. 4, New York, 1830. The position Edwards attempted to establish in this Inquiry was, "That none ought to be admitted to the communion and privileges of members of the visible church of Christ in complete standing, but such as are, in profession and in the eye of the church's Christian judgment, godly or gracious persons." The Rev. Messrs. Thomas Prince, John Webb, Thomas Foxcroft, and Mather Byles, then ministers of Boston, in a preface to the Inquiry say, "The doctrine here maintained by our dear and reverend brother was brought over hither by the pious and judicious fathers of this country from the Puritans in England, and held by them and their successors in our churches above three score years without dissention."

(e) Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, i. 26. Boston, 1764. After the repeal in 1664, "the minister was to certify that the candidates for freedom were of orthodox principles and of good lives and conversations." This requirement rendered the repeal rather in appearance than a reality.

strictions. By a portion of them it was also felt to be a grievance, that they were denied access to the Lord's Supper and baptism for their children, which privileges they had enjoyed in the established and less scriptural churches of Europe.

At length, in 1646, the subjects of these restrictions, throughout the colony, made a vigorous effort to obtain relief.[f] They petitioned the General Court, "that civil liberty and freedom might be forthwith granted to all truly English; and that all members of the Church of England or Scotland, not scandalous, might be admitted to the privileges of the churches of New England; or, if these civil and religious liberties were refused, that they might be freed from the heavy taxes imposed upon them, and from the impresses made of them or their children or servants in war:" adding, that, "if they failed of redress here, they should be under the necessity of making application to England, to the honorable houses of Parliament; who, they hoped, would take their sad condition into consideration." "The Court, and great part of the country, were much offended at this petition." The request was refused. The papers of those who had made it were seized, including the memorial they had prepared to send to England; and, upon their refusing to acknowledge their offence in using, as was alleged, "contemptuous and seditious expressions" in their petition, they "were fined, some in larger, some in lesser sums, two or three of the magistrates dissenting."[g]

The aggrieved now took a different method to obtain redress; —or rather, new zeal for obtaining it was now applied in a direction in which an influence had been secretly working in their favor for some time. An opinion began to prevail, that all baptized persons, not scandalous in life and formally excommunicated, ought to be considered members of the church, in all respects except the right of partaking of the Lord's Supper, for which evidence of regeneration was still generally held to be a requisite qualification. (4) The proposal of so great an innovation on the principles and practices of the first settlers, as would be expected, was met by a decided opposition; and a contest arose, which occasioned great agitation in all the New England colonies, especially in Connecticut and Massachusetts. At length, in 1657, the Court of Massachusetts advised to a general Council; and sent letters to the other Courts signifying their opinion. The General Court of Connecticut acceded to the proposal, and appointed four delegates to the proposed Council.[h] These, with delegates from Massachusetts, convened at

(f) Those similarly situated in the Plymouth colony made a like effort at the same time.
(g) See Hutchinson's History, i. 145—149.
(h) The New Haven colony formally refused, and remonstrated against the proposed Council.

Boston, in June, 1657. The questions submitted to this Council were seventeen in number,[i] most of them relating to baptism and church membership. On this subject their determination was, in substance, that all baptized persons ought to be considered members of the church, under its discipline; and to be admitted to all its privileges, except a participation of the communion. (5)

"The decisions of this Council," it is stated in the history of these proceedings, "do not appear to have had any influence to reconcile, but rather to inflame the churches. A number of ministers, and the churches pretty generally, viewed" their determination "as a great innovation, and entirely inconsistent with the principles on which the churches of New England were originally founded, and with the principles of Congregationalism."

In 1662, another and more efficient effort was made to put an end to these difficulties. "The General Court of Massachusetts appointed a Synod of all the ministers of that colony, to deliberate and decide on" two questions; of which the most deeply interesting was, "*Who are the subjects of baptism?*"[k] This Synod met at Boston, in September, 1662. Though its members were all of Massachusetts, their proceedings affected the other colonies.

Their answer to the question concerning baptism, which, as they viewed it, involved that of church membership, "was substantially the same with that given by the Council in 1657." (6) They "were not unanimous, however: several learned and pious men protested against their determination relative to baptism. The Rev. Charles Chauncey president of Harvard College, Mr. Increase Mather "of Boston," Mr. Mather, of Northampton, and others, were warmly in the opposition." President Chauncey and Mr. Increase Mather published against the decision of the Synod,[l] and so did the Rev. John Davenport, then minister of New Haven, whom the author of the Magnalia styles "the greatest of the anti synodists."[m]

Nor could the churches agree in their practice; some being for receiving the determinations of the Synod, and others for rejecting them. There were great divisions and contentions in *the church of Boston* upon this head. The major part was for the Synod, and proceeded "to practice upon its recommendations:

(i) The questions *proposed* were seventeen; others were discussed, making the whole number twenty-one. The answers were afterwards printed in London, under the title of *A Disputation concerning church members and their children.*

(k) This, the author of the Magnalia, says, was "the grand question." The other was, "Whether, according to the word of God, there ought to be a consociation of churches?" The Synod's answer to this question was in the affirmative. The consociation of churches was adopted in Connecticut in 1708, but was never adopted in Massachusetts.

(l) Increase Mather afterwards changed his opinion, and published two treatises in favor of the result of the Synod.

(m) Book 5, p. 82. Respecting the agitations and proceedings in relation to baptism and church membership, consult Trumbull's Hist. of Connecticut, i. 297—313. Hutchinson's Hist. of Massachusetts, i. 223, 224. Mather's Magnalia, Book 5. Part 3.

but a considerable number of the brethren were dissatisfied." [n] The minority were, however, restrained from any steps leading to a division, by the influence of their pastor, the Rev. John Wilson, who had been a member of the Synod, and acted with the majority. This venerated man died in 1667; and the church of Boston was left vacant for the first time.

"On the death of Mr. Wilson," says the historian of the First Church, "the church seem to have had no idea of supplying his place by a young man, or a man who had not been educated in England." [o] The only person at that time in the country in whom were united the qualifications they desired in a pastor, was Mr. Davenport of New Haven, then seventy years of age.[p] It was proposed to extend to him a call. This proposal, no doubt originated with those who were dissatisfied with the resolutions of the late Synod, and the consequent proceedings of the church. As was to have been expected, it met with a warm opposition. To settle Mr. Davenport, it was urged, would be virtually to declare against the decisions of the Synod, and reverse the consequent proceedings of the church. (7) The result however, was, that, the party which had been the minority in relation to the question about the Synod, became the majority; [q] and on the 24th of September, 1667, "the major part of the church by far," voted a call to Mr. Davenport, and appointed a committee to convey letters to him and to his church.[r] Mr. Davenport thought it his duty to accept this call, and soon removed to Boston.

The church in New Haven were extremely reluctant to part with their beloved pastor; and replied to the letter sent them that 'they saw no cause, nor call of God, to resign their reverend pastor to the church in Boston, by an immediate act of theirs, therefore, not by a formal dismission under their hands; yet, as he could not be persuaded to remain with them, they would not further oppose his removal.' This reply furnished additional occasion for dissatisfaction on the part of the opposition in the Boston church. The ruling elder communicated to the church only a part of the letter; that part, doubtless, which seemed most favorable to Mr. Davenport's removal. This was complained of as disingenuous; and the part communicated, it was contended, was not a regular dismission. All objections were, however, overruled by the majority; and Mr. Davenport was installed pastor over the Boston church. (8)

(n) Neale's History of New England, i. 354, 355.
(o) P. 110.
(p) He was among the most eminent of the first ministers of New England.
(q) Cotton Mather says, The "church, for the supply of the vacancy upon the death of their former more synodical ministers, applying themselves unto Mr. John Davenport, the greatest of the antisynodists, the interests of the synod came to be laid aside therein on that occasion."
(r) Records of the First Church, p. 31.

The dissatisfied brethren, to the number of twenty eight, with one member of the church in Charlestown,[s] in all twenty-nine, including some of the most respectable persons in the colony, now proceeded to take measures to form themselves into a new church. With this view they made application for a dismission from the old church; which was refused. (9) They next called "a Council of other churches in the neighborhood;" [t] in conformity with whose advice they proceeded, at two meetings held at Charlestown on the 12th, and 16th of May,[u] 1669, to organize themselves into a distinct church, under the denomination of "the Third Church in Boston;" adopting a covenant which, besides what is usual in such instruments, contained the following clause, which the subsequent history of the church has rendered worthy of particular notice, "And for the furtherance of this blessed fellowship with God in Christ and one with another—we do likewise promise to endeavor to establish among ourselves, and convey down to our posterity, all the holy truths and ordinances of the Gospel, committed to the churches, in faith and observance, opposing to the utmost of our church power whatsoever is diverse therefrom or contrary thereunto." (10)

About the same time seventeen ministers, (probably those who had composed the Council, which sanctioned the formation of the new church) publicly testified their disapprobation of the conduct of the majority of the old church. [v] To this testimony the old church published a reply. And a flame was kindled which spread through the colony. The dispute between the two churches ran "so high, that there was imprisoning of parties, and great disturbances." [w] "Two parties," says Hutchinson,[x] "were produced, not in the other churches only, but in the state also." And "the whole people of God throughout the colony," says the author of the Magnalia [y] "were too much distinguished into such as favored the old church, and such as favored

(s) This was the Rev. Thomas Thatcher, whose dismission from the church in Charlestown is preserved among the papers of the Old South Church, is dated "13,10. 69" i. e. 13th December, 1669.

(t) Magnalia, Book 5, p. 82. The "lesser part" of the First Church, "carefully and exactly following the advice of Councils fetched from other churches in the neighborhood, set up another church." This may imply that they had the advice and assistance of more than one council.

(u) Being the 22d and 26th of May, N. S.

(v) Hutchinson (i. 270) gives the names of these ministers as follows. "John Allin, John Higginson, John Ward, John Wilson, Edmund Bowne, Samuel Whiting senr., Thomas Cobbet, John Sherman, Samuel Phillips, Thomas Shepard, Increase Mather, Samuel Torrey, Zechary Symmes, John Brocke, Edward Bulkley, Samuel Whiting, junior, John Hale:"—several of them among the most eminent ministers then in the colony, as will be seen by consulting Eliot's or Allen's Biographical Dictionary, or Farmer's Genealogical Register.

(w) Letter from Edward Randolph to the Bishop of London, dated Boston May 29, 1682. "There was a great difference between the old church and the members of the new church about baptism and their members joining in full communion with either church. This was so high that there was imprisoning of parties and great disturbances." Hutchinson's Collection of original papers &c. p. 532. The imprisoning was, probably, of the members of the new church, for not attending the authorized worship and setting up a church assembly without permission from the magistrates.

(x) i. 270.

(y) Book 5, p. 83.

the new church; WHEREOF THE FORMER WERE AGAINST THE SYNOD, AND THE LATTER WERE FOR IT." This last statement furnishes the explanation of these surprising results of a division in a single church. The circumstances of the case were such, that this division involved the then all-absorbing question in relation to baptism and church membership. The triumph of the new church would be the triumph of the friends of the decisions of the late Synod, and the triumph of the old church would be the triumph of the opposers of those decisions. In this question the people throughout the colony were deeply interested; and consequently, felt a lively interest, and as they had opportunity took a part, in the dispute between the old and the new churches.

The new church, soon after their organization, proceeded to take measures for the erection of a Meeting House. The Governor, Mr. Billingham, who was a member of the First Church and "warmly engaged in opposition to the seceders," called together the Council of the colony, "fearing, as he says in the order, 'a sudden tumult, some persons attempting to set up an edifice for public worship, which was apprehended by authority to be detrimental to the public peace.' The Council thought best not to interpose; and, if any had offended against the laws, they advised to proceed against them in a due course of law." "They" also "judged it meet to declare, 'that it was the duty of those who were about to erect a new Meeting House, to observe the laws and orders of the General Court for regulating prudential affairs; and if they did not, they should have no countenance of authority in their proceedings.'" The members of the new church, accordingly, applied to the selectmen of the town; who voted, on the 26th of July 1669, "that 'there is need of another Meeting House to be erected in this town;' though they judged it not to belong to them to determine the placing of it."

The public ferment still continuing, "the House of Deputies" took up the subject; and "espoused the cause of the First Church." "At the session in May 1670," they "appointed a committee, to inquire into the prevailing evils which had been the cause of the displeasure of God against the land." This committee brought in a report, containing general statements of 'innovation in doctrine and worship, opinion and practice, invasion of the rights, liberties and privileges of the churches, usurpation of lordly power over our God's heritage, and subversion of Gospel order;'—all well understood to be aimed at the new church and the ministers consenting to its organization: and concluding with a distinct "notice of the late transaction of churches and elders in constituting the Third Church in Boston, as irregular, illegal and disorderly." The House adopted the report. This proceeding increased the public agitation. The election for

the next General Court turned chiefly, throughout the colony, upon the question of old church and new church; and "most of the deputies who had censured the brethren of the Third Church, were left out, and new members chosen" of opposite sentiments. [a] At the next session of the Court, several of the ministers presented a petition, complaining of the proceedings of the former Court in relation to themselves and the Third Church, and desiring redress. The Court took this petition into immediate consideration; and determined it to be "their duty to declare, that several expressions in the votes referred to in the petition appeared exceptionable;" and "ordered that all papers referring to the case should be accounted useless, and not be improved against the reverend elders as having been the cause of God's displeasure against the country. And, whereas many had taken upon them to publish the secrets of the Court in that case, the Court further declared, that they knew no just cause of those scandalizing reflections indefinitely cast upon magistrates, elders and churches, either in reference to the new church in Boston or otherwise; and therefore, until they were further informed, they judged them to be innocent, calumniated and misrepresented." [b]

Thus the new church, and its friends through the colony, achieved a public and final triumph: a triumph, to be regretted, as involving the consummation of a wide and pernicious departure from the primitive Gospel discipline of the New England churches; to be rejoiced in, as confirming the rights of freemen to many who had been unjustly deprived of them, and laying the foundation of all the good to be effected, in the hands of providence, by this church.

Having, as has been mentioned, obtained the sanction of the selectmen of the town, the brethren of the Third Church proceeded to erect a Meeting House, on the spot occupied by the present edifice. The land had been previously given by Madam Norton, one of the seceders from the old church, widow of the Rev. John Norton, who had deceased about three years before, having been for many years one of the ministers of the First Church. The House was built of cedar, [c] with a steeple, galleries, square pews, and the pulpit in the side as in the present building. From the location, the church and their Meeting House early received the name of the South Church; which was the common title till 1717, when a church was gathered

(a) Historical Collections, First Series, vol. 10, p. 345. Note. Hutchinson says that of "fifty members who composed the House of Deputies this year, twenty only were of the House the year before." And several of these had, doubtless, opposed the proceedings of the former Court.

(b) The preceding account of the formation of the Third Church and the public agitations which ensued, is compiled from Hutchinson's History, i. 270—275, Mather's Magnalia, Book 5, pp. 82, 83, and Snow's History of Boston, first edition, pp. 153, 154: from which the quotations are made, except where other authorities are referred to.

(c) 1 Mass. Histor. Collections, iv. 211.

and located in Summer Street,[d] and took the name of the New South, since which this church and its Meeting House have been denominated the Old South Church. (11)

The Rev. Thomas Thatcher was chosen the first pastor, Edward Raynsford the first ruling elder, and Peter Bracket and Jacob Eliot the first deacons. (12) The dates of these elections is not preserved. Mr. Thatcher was installed February 16, 1669. The First Church was invited to assist at the solemnities, but refused. (13)

In the preceding April the wives of the brethren united in the Third Church, had communed with their husbands. On the same day, they addressed a letter to the old church, stating the fact, desiring that it might be candidly interpreted, and requesting to be released from their covenant engagement with them for the purpose of being united with the new church. (14) This request was refused; and the refusal accompanied with a declaration, that the old church could not have communion with such of their members as had or should communicate with the withdrawn brethren. (15) In August, 1670, a formal proposal of accommodation was made by the new church to the old; but without success. (16) In August, 1674, the females who had seceded from the old church, being still denied a dismission and declared to have forfeited their covenant privileges, made a written application to be received into the new church. (17) The new church called a Council to advise them in reference to this application. The Council recommended that the application be granted; which was done on the 16th of October, 1674; and thus twenty three members were, at one time, added to the church. (18)

The new church flourished rapidly, and soon became, in the language of the early historians of New England, "one of the most considerable in the country."[e] Mr. Thatcher continued sole pastor more than eight years, till a few months before his death. (19) This gentleman was born May 1, 1620, at Salisbury, in England, where his father was minister. He gave decisive evidence of piety in childhood. Having received a good grammar school education, his father offered to send him to either of the English universities. But he conscientiously declined the proposal, on account of the religious subscriptions required at those institutions; and chose to emigrate to America. He arrived at Boston June 4, 1635. He spent several years in the family and under the tuition of the Rev. Charles Chauncey, then minister of Scituate, afterwards president of Harvard col-

(d) The first meeting on the subject of establishing this society was held July 14, 1715; their first Meeting House was dedicated Jan. 8, 1717. Snow's History of Boston, p. 213.

(e) Magnalia, Book 5. p. 82. Neal, in his History of New England, published in 1719, says, i. 355, referring to the Third Church, it "has since proved one of the most flourishing of the whole country."

lege. By the assistance of this indefatigable scholar and his own intense application, Mr. Thatcher became distinguished, not only in the common academical studies, but also in Hebrew, Syriac and Arabic, in the first of which languages he composed a lexicon. He was well skilled, we are told, in the arts, especially in logic; and understood mechanics, both in theory and practice. As was not uncommon at that period, he studied two professions, medicine and theology, in both of which he obtained a high reputation. In the former profession, he has the honor of having been the author of the first medical tract ever published in Massachusetts.[f] He first settled in the ministry at Weymouth, in 1644; where he continued, with great acceptance, more than twenty years. In 1664, from a "concurrence," says the author of the Magnalia, "of many obliging circumstances," which are not stated, he was dismissed from the church in Weymouth, and removed to Boston; where he preached occasionally, but was chiefly employed in practising as a physician, till he was chosen pastor of the Third Church in 1669.

As a Christian and a minister he was greatly and deservedly esteemed. He was among the most popular preachers in the colony. His sermons, of which one only is known to have been published,[g] are said to have been "elaborate and affectionate." He not only preached twice on the Sabbath, but maintained lectures on other days of the week; and was diligent in instructing the children and youth of his charge.[h] But the "excellency," we are told, "that shined above the other glories of his ministry, was that excellent spirit of prayer which continually breathed in him," having "an eminency above most men living for his copious, his fluent, his fervent manner of performing that sacred exercise." His abundant labors in the ministry were crowned with signal success; as was evinced by "the great growth of the church" in Weymouth while under his oversight, and by the increase, while he continued the pastor of this church, of the number admitted to its communion to two hundred and seventeen. He preached his last sermon for Mr. Increase Mather, from 1 Peter iv, 18. "Grow in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ;" immediately after, visited a sick person; was himself seized with a fever; and expired October 15, 1678, aged 58. (20.)

As has been already intimated, a colleague had been settled with Mr. Thatcher a few months before his death. This was the Rev. Samuel Willard, one of the most eminent of the

(f) "A Brief Guide to the common people in the Small pox and Measles;" published in 1677.

(g) A fast sermon in 1674. There are copious notes of many of his sermons, taken by Mr. John Hull, and preserved in manuscript volumes in the Old South library.

(h) He prepared and printed a catechism for children.

ministers that have adorned the New England churches. He was a native of the colony, of honorable descent; and graduated at Harvard College in 1659. He was first settled in the ministry at Groton, where he continued above twelve years; when, that place being destroyed by the Indians, and his flock scattered, in 1676, he removed to Boston; and, on the 10th of April, 1678, was settled as colleague pastor of this church. After the death of Mr. Thatcher, in the following October, he continued sole pastor about two years, when an assistant was ordained. Mr. Willard was chosen vice-president of Harvard College in 1701; and from the death of president Mather in that year, discharged the duties of the presidency, with high reputation, till a little before his decease in 1707, still continuing his ministerial labors in Boston.

His powers of mind were of a superior order. He had a copious fancy, and a quick and accurate perception; and in argument, was profound and clear. His piety was consistent, devoted, self-denying and confiding. His learning was extensive and solid; especially in theology, which was his favorite study, and for his proficiency in which he was greatly celebrated. "His discourses," says his colleague, in his funeral sermon, "were all elaborate, acute and judicious; the matter being always weighty, and his subjects well chosen, suited to the state of his flock, and every way adapted to make them wiser and better. His common discourses might have been pronounced with applause before an assembly of the greatest divines." "His style was masculine, not perplexed, but easy as well as strong." His delivery was characterized by "gravity, courage, zeal and prudence, and with tender solicitude for perishing souls. And, when the matter required it, no man could speak with greater pathos and pungency." "He knew how to be a son of thunder to the secure and hardened, and a son of consolation to the contrite and broken in spirit." "His public prayers were always pertinent and pathetical, animated with a spirit of devotion, and" characterized by "an uncommon compass of thought." As a pastor, he was distinguished for "prudence, faithfulness and impartiality." "All his talents and acquisitions were consecrated" to the service of Christ, and over the whole, it is said, was shed the lustre of a "remarkable and unaffected modesty," and a "spirit truly pacific." He was ardently attached to the works of the ministry, and unusually diligent in performing its various duties. Besides the public services of the Sabbath, he maintained other exercises for the religious improvement of his people, among which was particularly distinguished a course of expository lectures on the Assembly's Shorter Catechism, first delivered in a compendious and familiar form to the children of his congregation, and afterwards enlarged into elaborate discourses to the

number of two hundred and fifty, which he delivered monthly on Tuesdays in the afternoon, in his public congregation, commencing January 31, 1687, 8. These lectures, it is stated, were "heard with a great relish by many of the most knowing and judicious persons both from town and college." After the author's decease, they were published in a volume of 914 pages; which was the first body of divinity, and the first folio, ever printed in this country.[i] In controversy, Mr. Willard was regarded as "a champion, defending the cause of truth with courage, and with enlightened and affectionate zeal." In the strange proceedings in relation to witchcraft in 1692, though three of the judges who condemned the persons executed for that crime were members of his church, and to express doubts of the guilt of the accused, was to expose one's self to accusation and condemnation, he had the courage to express his decided disapprobation of the measures pursued, to use his influence to arrest them, and to aid some who were imprisoned awaiting their trial, to escape from the colony. And he had the satisfaction soon to see a stop put to those unhappy proceedings, and the judicious part of the community come over to his opinion.

As will be inferred from the statements already made, Mr. Willard possessed great influence and popularity. "He was called upon on all great occasions to deliver his sentiments from the pulpit." His publications were numerous; more numerous, it is said, than those of any other "divine in this country, except Cotton Mather; and they were all calculated to do honor to the author, and edify pious people." "He took leave of" his beloved flock "at the table of the Lord;" and died suddenly September 12, 1707, aged 67. (21)

In addition to the occurrences during the ministry of Mr. Willard already adverted to, the following are worthy of notice.

In 1679 was held, what has been commonly called, "the Reforming Synod." Various causes,—among which the most prominent were great worldly prosperity,[j] and (most influential of all) the mingling of politics and religion from the beginning, and the consequent relaxing of divine institutions and "prostituting of the mysteries of our holy religion to mere secular views and advantages," [k] had been producing a gradual and continually more rapid decline of religion in the country. It began to be distinctly noticed in 1660. It increased more and more till 1670;

(i) Two hundred and twenty of these discourses were delivered as described. Two hundred and forty-six were written out in full before his death, to the end of the 100th Question of the Catechism, which contains the explanation of the Preface to the Lord's prayer. The rest of the volume is composed of the notes used in his former and shorter expositions.

(j) Hutchinson says, under the date 1669, "The colony, about this time made a greater figure than it ever did at any other time. Their trade was as extensive as they could wish. Some of the magistrates and principal merchants grew very rich, and a spirit of industry and economy prevailed throughout the colony," i. 269.

(k) Hutchinson i, 431.

"when," says one of the most accurate of our historians,[l] "it grew very visible and threatening, and was generally complained of and bewailed bitterly by the pious" among the ministers and people. And from the statements that have come down to us, it is evident that there was ample cause of complaint and lamentation. At length the displeasure of God, it was thought, began to be clearly indicated in his natural providence. Consuming disasters befel the labors of the husbandman; losses at sea were uncommonly numerous; desolating fires wasted the chief seats of trade; a dreadful pestilence raged through the colony; and in the political horizon a cloud was gathering of most portentous aspect.[m]

These circumstances led the General Court, in May 1679, to call upon the churches to send elders and other messengers to meet in a Synod, for the solemn discussion of these two questions, *What are the provoking evils of New England?* and *What is to be done, that so those evils may be reformed?*[n] The original notice to this church, from the secretary of the General Court, to send a delegation to this Synod, is preserved. (22) The proposal was received and acted upon by the churches with becoming solemnity. "A general fast was first kept, that the gracious presence and Spirit of God might be obtained for the direction of the approaching Synod." At the appointed time, September 10, 1679, a very full representation from the churches convened at Boston. "The assembly" commenced its duties by observing "a day of prayer with fasting before the Lord." Two sessions were held. "Several days were spent in discoursing upon the two grand questions laid before them, with utmost liberty granted unto every person to express his thoughts thereupon. A committee was then appointed to draw up the mind of the assembly; which being done, it was read over once and again, and each paragraph distinctly weighed; and then, upon mature deliberation, the whole was unanimously voted, and presented unto the General Court;" and by them, in an act passed October 15, 1679, "commended unto the serious consideration of all the churches and people in the jurisdiction;" the Court "enjoining and requiring all persons, in their respective capacities, to a careful and diligent reformation of all those provoking evils mentioned therein, according to the true intent thereof, that so the anger and displeasure of God, many ways manifested, may be averted and his favor and blessing obtained."

(l) Mr. Thomas Prince: Christian History, i. 94, where may be seen extracts from election sermons, &c. giving most affecting descriptions of the fearful declension.
(m) See Magnalia, Book 5, p. 85. Hutchinson i. 324. The result of Three Synods.
(n) They were also to review the Platform of Church discipline, which they unanimously approved.

In replying to the first question submitted to them, the Synod enumerated the sins which they conceived to be most prevalent and offensive to heaven. In answer to the second question, they recommended various measures of reformation; among which the most prominent were,—more careful attention to personal and family religion; a return to the ancient strictness in admitting persons to the Lord's Supper; a faithful attention to church discipline; and the observance by the churches of seasons of special humiliation and prayer, accompanied with a public and solemn renewal of covenant. "Every church" in the colony, it is said, took "some notice of this Synod, and of the measures it recommended for reviving the power and spirit of religion;" [o] and most of them kept days of fasting and prayer, and publicly renewed their covenant. This church, with great solemnity attended to this service on the 29th of June 1680; publicly acknowledging their sins and the sins of the people at large, binding themselves to a faithful reformation, and consecrating themselves and their offspring anew to the service of God. The form of covenant used on this occasion is preserved in the records of the church. (23)

These measures were attended with, temporary indeed, but visible, happy results; especially the renewal of covenant. "Very remarkable," it is testified "was the blessing of God on the churches which did," in this respect, conform to the advice of the Synod, "not only by a great advancement of holiness in the people, but also by a great addition of converts to their holy fellowship. And many thousand spectators" it is added, "will testify, that they never saw the special presence of God our Saviour more notably discovered than in the solemnity of these opportunities." [p] The additions to *this* church in *six months*, were nearly as many as they had been in the two preceding years.

The political evils just now mentioned as impending, soon came upon the colony, in rapid succession, and with fearful weight. In 1676, had arrived that unrelenting enemy of the liberties of New England, Edward Randolph, "whose business it was," the people said, "to go up and down seeking to devour them." [q] In 1682, he proposed in the Council of the colony, that ministers of the Established Church of England should be sent over; to be maintained, in part, by diverting to this object the money hitherto annually expended amongst the Indians, and to have the exclusive privilege of solemnizing marriages.(24) This proposal spread alarm among the ministers and churches, and produced a deep conviction of the necessity of union and concert

(o) History of the First Church, p. 127.
(p) The quotations in this account of the Reforming Synod not otherwise acknowledged are from the Magnalia, Book 5.
(q) Snow's Hist. of Boston, p. 168. Hutch. i. 319.

in resisting the threatened encroachments upon their liberties. The First Church had, up till this time, a period of fourteen years, refused all acts of ecclesiastical intercourse and communion with the Third Church.[r] At a meeting of the First Church, April 23, 1682, it was agreed to propose to the South Church, "to forgive and forget all past offences," and live henceforth in "peace." This proposal was cordially acceded to by the Third Church. And, "unto the general joy of Christians in the neighborhood, both the churches kept a solemn day together; wherein, lamenting the infirmities that had attended their former contentions, they gave thanks to the great Peace-Maker for effecting this joyful reconciliation."[s]

In July 1685, the charter of the colony was abrogated. In the following spring, Col. Joseph Dudley received a commission to take charge of the government, under the title of President, till a governor should be appointed. He entered in form upon the duties of his office May 25, 1686. The *next day* a clergyman of the *Church of England* who had come over a short time before,[t] waited on the Council, and requested one of the three Meeting Houses to preach in. This was refused; and he was granted the east end of the Town-house,[u] where the Deputies had formerly met, until those who desired his ministry should provide a fitter house. (26)

On the 19th, of the following December, Sir Edmund Andros arrived, as governor, with almost unlimited powers. He landed on the 20th, and went to the Town-house, where his commission was read, and the Council sworn. The ministers of the town being present at the solemnity, he took them aside into the Library, and spoke to them about accommodation as to a Meeting House, the times of service to be so contrived as that one House might serve two assemblies. The next day a meeting was held of the ministers and four of each church, to determine what answer to give to the Governor; and it was agreed, that they could

(r) I have met with but one transaction which has any appearance of an exception to this statement. It is presented in the following extract from the records of the First Church, p. 40. "Aug. 5th, 1679. Voted by the churche, upon an order and advise of ye *magistrates* yt *all ye elders* of ye town might joyntly carry on ye 5th day Lecture: In an answer to ye motion of ye Hon'd magistrates about the Lecture; Tho as an *injunction* wee cannot concurr with it, but doe humbly bare our *witness against it*, as apr.hending it tending to ye *infringemet of churche liberty*; Yett, if ye Lord incline the hearts of the other Teaching officers of this town to accept of *desire of our officers*, to give yr assistance with those of *this church*, who shall bee desired to carry on *their* fifth day Lecture, wee are willing to accept their help therein."—From this it would seem that the Thursday Lecture had previously been carried on solely by the ministers of the First Church. After this the pastors of the Second and Third churches were, doubtless, united with them, and subsequently the ministers of other churches in the town as they were formed and had pastors settled. This lecture is now, and has been for many years, carried on by *the members of the Boston Association both in town and country*, all of whose members since 1819 have been considered Unitarians.

(s) Magnalia, Book 5, p. 83. See Note (25.)

(t) Mr. Ratcliffe: he came over with Mr. Dudley in 1683, and arrived at Boston Oct. 23, in that year. The first Episcopal society was formed here in 1685. Hutch. i. 355, 356.

(u) It stood on the spot now occupied by the Old State House in State Street, then called King Street.

not, with a good conscience, accede to his Excellency's proposal.

On the 23d, of March, the Governor sent Randolph for the keys of the South Meeting House. The demand was not complied with; and six of the principal members of the church waited on his Excellency, and remonstrated against his occupying the House without the consent of the proprietors. On the 25th, the Governor sent orders to the sexton to ring the bell and open the House. The sexton was frightened into a compliance; and the Meeting House was occupied for the service for Good-Friday prescribed by the Church of England. On the next Sabbath, the Governor and his retinue again met in the Meeting House, having notified Mr. Willard that he might occupy it at half past one. The members of the South congregation, accordingly, assembled at that time; but were kept standing in the street till past two. From this time the Governor, when in town, occupied the House, at such times as he was pleased to say suited his convenience, (more than once changing the hours of meeting on the Sabbath, to the great annoyance of Mr. Willard and his people,)—probably till his deposition from the government in 1689: when the congregation were freed from the usurpation, and their House of worship from the desecration, of tyranny, till its new oppressions and greater profanations produced another revolution, issuing in complete and final deliverance. (27)

The narrative will here be suspended, to be resumed in the afternoon.

SERMON II.

Psalm lxxvii, 11, 12, 13.

I WILL REMEMBER THE WORKS OF THE LORD; SURELY I WILL REMEMBER THY WONDERS OF OLD. I WILL MEDITATE ALSO OF ALL THY WORK, AND TALK OF THY DOINGS. THY WAY, O GOD, IS IN THE SANCTUARY.

In the spirit of this passage I resume the narrative commenced in the morning.

Mr. Willard died September 12, 1707. The colleague already mentioned as having been settled some time before, and who survived him nearly ten years, was Mr. Ebenezer Pemberton; a son of Mr. James Pemberton, one of the founders of this church, in which this son was baptized February 11, 1671. He graduated at Harvard College in 1691; and, continuing to reside at Cambridge, was, after some years, chosen fellow of the house.[a] He was called to the pastoral office in this church February 21, 1699, and ordained August 28, 1700.

He was a man of eminent talents and great acquirements, and "had the reputation of as accomplished a preacher as this country ever produced." "He was," says an intimate acquaintance, well qualified to estimate his character, "a hard student from his childhood; and, being blessed with brightness of mind, fervor of spirit, and strength of memory, he made wonderful dispatch. He was master of logic and oratory in great perfection. The college never had a more accomplished tutor, nor one that more applied himself to teach and watch over the morals of it." His piety was of a decided character; producing, habitually, "a

(a) That is, in modern language, tutor.

strong conviction of the reality of things invisible and eternal," and "a zeal which flamed" in his Master's cause. His temperament was uncommonly ardent; which, when properly regulated, gave to his performances a peculiar energy and power; but which sometimes proved a great infirmity,—his passions, when suddenly excited, becoming impetuous and violent. Yet, "when free from the excitement of any unpleasant circumstances," it is said, "he was mild and soft as one could wish." In preparing for the pulpit, he usually made only hints, from which he enlarged with great readiness and propriety. His discourses were characterized by clearness of exhibition, and close and animated reasoning; they were remarkably practical, yet abounding in doctrinal truth; often pathetic; and commonly distinguished for pungency of application. His delivery was agreeable, and peculiarly lively and vigorous. In prayer, he was copious and fervent. Of the few sermons which he wrote at length, but three or four were published by himself. An octavo volume, containing most of these and some not before printed, was published after his death. They are sermons of uncommon excellence,—"strong, argumentative, eloquent." They are "written," says the late Dr. Elliot, "in the best style, and would do honor to any preacher of the present age. They are wonderful compositions for the period."

Through life, Mr. Pemberton was a diligent student, and a laborious minister. His constitution was always feeble; and during several of his last years, he was greatly afflicted with severe bodily pain; but, under weakness and suffering, continued to do much in his appropriate and loved employment. He preached his last sermon on the 20th of January 1716, 17, from Matt. xxii, 5. "But they made light of it, and went their way, one to his farm, and another to his merchandize;" and died on the 13th of February, aged 45. (28)

During the ministry of Mr. Pemberton, the church and society were in a flourishing condition. The only event claiming particular notice in this sketch, is "the great fire" in 1711; which consumed all Cornhill from School Street to Dock Square, and all the upper part of King, now State Street, including the Town-house and the Meeting House of the First Church. [b] A public fast was soon after observed on account of this calamity, and a collection taken in each of the churches for the sufferers. "Two hundred and sixty odd pounds," of the currency of that period, "were gathered at the South Church." [c] On the Sabbath after the fire, this church unanimously voted an offer of their Meeting House for the mutual benefit of both congregations, the services to be performed half the time by the ministers of the First Church, for which the same weekly allowance should be made

(b) Snow's History of Boston, p. 210. (c) Judge Sewall's Journal.

to them by the deacons of the South Church as to their own pastor. On the same day a similar offer was voted by the Brattle Street Society. Both offers were accepted,—the members of the scattered congregation dividing their attendance between the two Houses, and their ministers performing half the services in each. This arrangement continued about a year, till a new Meeting House,—the late Old Brick,—was completed for the First Church. (29)

On the 16th of September 1713, Mr. Joseph Sewall was settled as colleague with Mr. Pemberton; and continued a pastor of this church, greatly respected and loved, till he had survived three colleagues, and nearly attained the age of 81.

Like Mr. Pemberton, he was a child of this church. His father,—the Hon. Samuel Sewall, (30) many years a Judge and several Chief Justice of the Superior Court,—was long a distinguished member, and his maternal grandfather, Mr. John Hull, was among the most respected of the founders, of the church. Mr. Joseph Sewall was born August 15, 1688, and graduated at Cambridge in 1707, where he also studied divinity. He was not remarkable for talents or learning; but, in humble, ardent and consistent piety, and devotedness to the work of the ministry, has seldom been equalled. A disposition naturally mild and affectionate began to be sanctified in childhood; and evidences are preserved [d] of his diligent and faithful use of the means of promoting growth in grace from early youth. The testimony concerning him, transmitted to us from the most authentic sources, is, that, through life, "his chief glory was the love of God and zeal to do good." "He seemed to breathe the air of heaven while here upon earth." "The observation was often made" concerning him, that, "if he entered into company, something serious dropped from his lips. His very presence banished levity, and produced solemnity of mind in all who were with him." "He delighted in the work of the ministry; and, when he grew venerable for his age as well as his piety, he was regarded as the father of the clergy. The rising generation looked upon him with reverence; and all classes of people felt a respect for his name." He had a deep and thorough conviction of the truth and importance of the religious principles of our fathers; and, though of a "deliberate and cautious" disposition, "was courageous in withstanding error. He could sacrifice every thing for peace, but duty and truth and holiness." His sermons, of which many were published and are preserved, were always instructive and practical. He dwelt much on the great doctrines of religion, but "never entered into any curious speculations: his object was to impress upon people what they should

(d) In his private journals.

believe, and how they must live, to be eternally happy." His style was simple and plain. His delivery solemn, affectionate, impressive. His prayers remarkably devout and fervent. "Deeply impressed himself with the truths" he uttered, "he reached the hearts of his hearers; and sometimes his voice was so modulated by his feelings and elevated with zeal, as irresistibly to seize attention" and strongly affect his auditors. He was distinguished for affectionate attention to children and youth; and eminently happy and useful in pastoral visits. He was a warm "friend of literature, and did all in his power to promote the interest and reputation of the college." Upon the death of president Leverett in 1724, he was chosen to succeed him; but, from his attachment to the ministry, and in compliance with the ardent wishes of his people, declined the invitation. Having inherited a considerable fortune, he, for many years in succession, made a liberal donation to the college, to be appropriated to pious indigent students; and when the library was consumed by fire, made a present of many valuable books. He also gave liberally to the poor, and to various pious and charitable objects. In short, he was emphatically, what he used, in his latter years, to be commonly and most respectfully called, the "good Dr. Sewall." (31)

This excellent man was left sole pastor of the church, by the death of Mr. Pemberton, in February 1717. The following July, Mr. Thomas Prince arrived in Boston, from Europe; where, after completing his education here, having graduated at Cambridge in 1707 and spent some time there studying theology,—he had travelled, visiting different countries, "not as an idle spectator, but as a diligent and attentive observer of men and things, which appeared in the knowledge and experience he had gained in his travels." While in England, he had preached with great acceptance, and been earnestly solicited to settle in that country; but his attachment to his native land was too strong to permit a compliance. On his arrival here, "he was received with peculiar marks of respect [e] and with special regard to his ministerial labors and character, several of the churches seeking to him as a precious gift of our ascended Saviour." He first preached for his classmate and intimate friend, Mr. Sewall, on the 25th of August 1717. September 29th he was requested to supply the pulpit half the time for two months; and complied. December 20th, the church gave him a call; which he accepted February 9th, and was ordained October 1, 1718.

(e) In his journal he says, "About 1½ ye Capt. sent his pinnace to carry me up. I landed at ye Long wharf, about ¼ of an hour after the meetings began, and by that means escaped the crowds of people yt came down at noon-time to see me; for they tell me there were above 500 came down on the wharf inquiring after me. But now the streets being clear, I silently went up to the Old South meeting; and none there knew me, but Mr. Sewall in the pulpit, Mr. Severy praying and preaching at that time with them."

The talents of Mr. Prince were above mediocrity; and in diligent and successful study, few if any, in America have been his equals. He made great proficiency, not only in divinity, but also in most of the branches of natural science and polite literature cultivated at that period. In history and chronology, especially as relating to this country, his labors were prosecuted with unparalleled industry and fidelity, and have imposed on posterity great and lasting obligation. In 1703, while at college, he began a collection of books and public and private papers relating to the civil and religious history of New England, to which he continued to make valuable additions for more than fifty years. He also made a large collection of classical and theological works and books of general literature. All these he gave, at his decease, to the church and congregation of which he had been minister. For a series of years the valuable deposit was left, without care or attention, on shelves and in boxes and barrels, in the room under the belfry of the Meeting House; [f] and many of the papers and books were scattered and destroyed. At length, in 1814, at the instance of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the remains of the collection were examined; and the books and papers peculiarly adapted to the purposes of that Society *deposited* in its room; (32) and the rest constituting the much greater portion, removed to the house of the pastor, and placed in cases, where they have since remained. It is still a valuable collection, containing, many standard works in ecclesiastical history, and biblical literature and theology, and a large number of the publications of the early divines of New England.

Another fruit of the literary labours of this indefatigable student was *A Revisal of the New England Version of the Psalms;* which, though indicating no poetical genius, discovers an accurate acquaintance with the oriental languages. This revisal was undertaken at the request of a committee of this society; accepted by the church and congregation on the 9th of October 1758; to be used in public worship on and after the last sabbath in that month. (33)

But it is not merely for his literary acquisitions and labors that Mr. Prince is to be remembered by us with respect and gratitude. "That" said his colleague, in his funeral sermon, "which set a crown upon all, was, that he feared God from his youth, and early appeared a lover of pure religion." We have as convincing evidence of his decided, consistent and devoted piety, as of his extensive learning. He was, indeed, a rare instance of diligence and fidelity in the duties of personal religion and in the work of the ministry, united with great ardor and proficiency in secular studies. His sermons were rich in evangelical truth; always prepared with care, abounding in facts and

(f) Which, the tradition is, he occupied as a study.

pertinent illustration. "His discourses," it is said, "were sometimes too learned for common people;" but, if we may judge from those which were published, he was less faulty in this respect than, from the character of his mind and studies, might have been expected. His delivery, tradition informs us, was unhappy; his sermons being always read, with but little animation or variety of modulation, from a small manuscript volume, so used, on account of a defect of vision common to hard students, as to conceal his countenance, for the most part, from his audience. As a "pastor," his colleague has testified, he was "tender and faithful, ready to warn them that were unruly, to comfort the feeble-minded, and resolve the doubting believer. As a Christian," his distinguishing "ornament" was "a meek and quiet spirit. He was ready to forgive injuries; yea, to return good for evil. And, by the grace of God, he was enabled to preserve a calm and pacific temper of mind under many trying dispensations of providence. In a particular manner, when visited with heavy bereavements, he behaved with exemplary patience and submission to the will of God." (34)

Forty years were these excellent men, Sewall and Prince, associated in the responsibilities and labors of the pastoral office in this congregation; furnishing an example of mutual affection and union of purpose and pursuit, to which the annals of collegiate charges will be searched for a parallel, I fear, almost in vain. The journals and other documents that have come down to us, lay open before us the most secret history of these men; and not a solitary instance appears of unpleasant difference of opinion, or of the slightest interruption, in any form, of confidence and affection. Is the cause of this uninterrupted and delightful harmony, in a situation so peculiarly liable to beget jealousy and contention, inquired for? Something is, doubtless, due to their remarkably amiable natural temper, and their early and intimate friendship; still more to their ardent piety; but most of all to a fact which thus presents itself in the journal of the excellent Sewall. "1721,2, January 5, Mr. Prince and I prayed together, as is usual before the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Lord, hear our prayers!" "1722, Nov. 2, Mr. Prince and I met together, and prayed to God for direction and assistance relating to the *fast* to be kept by the church we stand related to." "1728,9, Jan. 13. The church being to meet relating to the affairs of the new building, Mr. Prince and I prayed together. O Lord, hear; guide and govern our affairs in mercy!" A portion of Friday afternoon before every communion, and a season preceding the transaction of any important business in the church, was habitually spent in this manner by these faithful servants of Christ; and occasionally, they spent portions of a *day*, mutually devoted to private humiliation, in *united* prayer. Men who live

together thus, will, of course, maintain the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.

I will now advert to some of the more interesting events that occurred during the united ministry of Prince and Sewall. On the night of the Sabbath, October 29, 1727, the whole country north of the Delaware river was visited with a violent shock of an earthquake. At Boston the evening was "calm and serene." About forty minutes past 10 o'clock, was heard, "a loud, hollow noise, like the roaring of a great chimney on fire, but inconceivably more fierce and terrible. In about half a minute, the earth began to heave and tremble. The shock increasing, rose to the height in about a minute more; when the moveables, doors, windows, walls, especially in the upper chambers, made a very fearful clattering, and the houses rocked and crackled, as if they were all dissolving and falling to pieces. The people asleep were awakened with the greatest astonishment: many others affrighted, ran into the streets. But the shaking quickly abated; and, in another half minute, entirely ceased." [g] "On the next morning, a very full assembly met at the North Church, for the proper exercises on so extraordinary an occasion. At five in the evening, a crowded concourse assembled at the Old Church: and multitudes, unable to get in, immediately flowed to the South, and in a few minutes filled that also. At Lieut. Gov. Dummer's motion, who was then Commander in Chief, the Thursday of the same week was kept as a day of extraordinary fasting and prayer, in all the churches in Boston; not merely to intreat for sparing mercy, but also to implore the grace and Spirit of God to come down and help to a sincere repentance and turning to him. And, as the houses of public worship were greatly crowded, the people were very attentive. The Ministers endeavored to set in with this extraordinary work of God in nature, and to preach his word in the most awakening manner, and lead the people to a true conversion and unfeigned faith in Christ, and guard them against deceiving themselves." And, says Mr. Prince, from whom I quote this account, "in all our congregations, many seemed to be awakened and reformed; and, professing repentance of their sins and faith in Christ, entered into solemn covenant with God, and came into full communion with our several churches. In *ours*, within eight months after, were about *eighty* added to our communicants." But, he adds, and it is painful to be compelled in fidelity to repeat, "though I doubt not but considerable numbers were at that time savingly converted, the goodness of many seemed as the morning cloud and the early dew, which quickly passes away." [h]

(g) Preface to two sermons, by Mr. Prince, occasioned by the earthquake.
(h) Account of the Revival of Religion in Boston: Christian History, ii. 377, 378. (35)

The next event claiming our notice was the building of a new Meeting House. The first edifice had now stood nearly sixty years. In 1721, the congregation having recently received several accessions, a number of additional pews were made, in vacant places, in different parts of the House.[i] In October 1727, the subject of enlarging the House was taken up in a church-meeting, and a committee appointed to estimate the expense. On the recommendation of this committee, in the following month, two committees were appointed, "one to inquire what encouragement may be given by the church and congregation towards repairing this House, the other to inquire what encouragement may be given towards the building of a new Meeting House." These committees reported, February 27, 1727,8; and the question was *discussed*, whether to repair or build; and decided to build, by a vote of 41 to 20. The minority did not cheerfully acquiesce; and at a meeting in March, an effort was made to have the recent vote to build rescinded; but without success. Subscriptions were obtained slowly; repeated meetings were held; and little seems to have been done, till June 1728; when it was voted to build of brick, and a committee were directed "to purchase such materials as they should judge proper to be laid in before winter."[j] January 28, 1728,9, a letter was voted to be sent to the Old Church, in a respectful manner to ask the privilege of meeting twice in their House on each Lord's day, saving on their sacrament days:" which request was kindly granted. Friday the 28th of February was observed as a day of fasting and prayer by the church and congregation, "to humble themselves before God for all their unfruitfulness under the means of grace enjoyed in the Meeting House" soon to be taken down, "and to ask his presence and blessing in the momentous affair of taking it down and building another House." (36) The next sabbath, March 2nd, the last sermons were preached in the old building, to "a very great assembly." On Monday, Mr. Sewall prayed with the workmen, and they began taking down the House; and finished its demolition the following day. "Several of the beams and timbers" were found so much "decayed," that it was "apprehended" the "crowded" assemblies on the preceding sabbath "had a very gracious preservation."[k] The foundation for the

(i) At the same meeting at which it was resolved to build these additional pews, it was voted to enlarge the House "sixteen feet on the north side, to make suitable accommodations for such as want them for their families, provided a suitable and sufficient number of persons appear to encourage it, and the necessary charge of repairing the Meeting House be not increased thereby." This vote was not carried into effect.

(j) Tradition says the mortar was all made the fall before it was used.

(k) Dr. Sewall's journal. He adds, "I thank thee, O thou Preserver of men. Reconcile thy servants who have been opposite to this work, and let there be good agreement amongst thy people in the things that are pleasing in thy sight." Among the opposers was his honored father, who sent in to the meeting at which it was voted to take down the old house, a written protest, which he desired might be recorded on the church books. This was not done, but a copy is preserved in his letter book.

new edifice, it appears from the inscription on the upper stone, at the south west corner, just above the pavement in Milk Street, was commenced March 31, 1729.[l] The building was completed in April 1730.[m] It was finished with two galleries as at present; and the pulpit in the same position as now, but larger and higher than this, with a sounding-board projecting from the wall above the casing of the window; and with two seats directly in front, one somewhat elevated for the deacons, and one still more elevated for the elders. On each side of the middle aisle and nearest the pulpit, were a number of long seats for aged people: and the rest of the floor, except the aisles and several narrow passages, was covered with square pews.[n] The House was not *dedicated* in the manner now practised, but was first occupied on the sabbath April 26,—corresponding to May 7, N. S. 1730. Mr. Sewall preached in the morning, from Haggai ii. 9. "The glory of this latter House shall be greater than the glory of the former, saith the Lord of hosts; and in this place will I give peace, saith the Lord of hosts." In the afternoon Mr. Prince preached, from Psalm v. 7. "As for me, I will come into thy house in the multitude of thy mercy; and in thy fear will I worship toward thy holy temple." (37)

In a few years was remarkably fulfilled the divine promise contained in the text of the first sermon delivered within these walls. The Spirit of God was poured out, in a manner that gave to this House a greater glory than had ever been given to the former.

It would seem that under the ministry of such men as Prince and Sewall, vital religion must have constantly flourished. But, from the influence of causes which will not now be specified,[o] it was not so. Mr. Prince himself is our authority for this statement. Upon "my return hither," says he, "in 1717, though there were many bright examples of piety in every seat and order, yet there was a general complaint among the pious and elderly persons, of a great decay of godliness in the lives and conversations of people both in the town and land." Then he gives an account of various extraordinary efforts made by the ministers and churches of Boston, in the course of the next

(l) Corner stones were not laid then as is now the custom. Hence I conclude that this date is that of the commencement of the new building. On the stone similarly situated in the north-west corner of the building, on the west side, are inscribed the letters S S; and on that in the north east corner, on the east side, L B 1729.

(m) In 1822, I visited Mr. William Homer, then ninety-five years old, who was baptized in the first Meeting House of the Old South church, and whose father was one of the committee for building the present edifice. He told me that he 'had often heard his father say, that while laying the foundation, erecting the walls and putting on the roof, and doing all the outside work, the workmen were never hindered an hour by foul weather. The season was not more dry than usual, but it always rained in the night.'

(n) There were stairs or passages to the galleries inside the House, in the southwest and northwest corners; and the porch in Milk Street projected into the street about as far again as at present: the former were removed into the west porch in 1808, and the latter was reduced in 1813.

(o) They will be detailed in the third sermon.

eighteen years, to arrest this decline and promote a revival of true religion; some of which were not wholly ineffectual, but from all of which there were no visible and abiding general results. [p] About the year 1735, there was a remarkable attention to religion in the western parts of this State, and in Connecticut. "But, in the mean while," says Mr. Prince, "the general decay of piety seemed to increase among us in Boston. And for the congregation I preach to, though for several years some few offered themselves to our communion, yet but few came to me in concern about their souls before. And so I perceive it was in others. And I remember some of the ministers were wont to express themselves as greatly discouraged with the growing declension both in principle and practice, especially among the rising generation." But now a brighter and glorious day was about to dawn. The ministers and other Christians here, having, from the year 1738, received accounts of the surprising power and success with which God was pleased to attend the preaching of the Rev. George Whitefield, invited him to come to Boston, where he arrived the first time in September 1740. He continued in this place and the neighborhood about a month, preaching twice almost every day, to immense congregations, and with his usual power. (38) During this visit, ministers and Christians were greatly stirred up to effort and prayer for the promotion of Christ's kingdom; and "great numbers," says Mr. Prince, "were so happily concerned about their souls, as we had never seen any thing like it before." [q] A genuine and powerful revival of religion had commenced; which extended to all the congregations in the town, and continued, without any sensible abatement, nearly two years. Assemblies on the sabbath, and several public lectures, with a great number of private meetings, during the week, were crowded with attentive, and often deeply affected, hearers. And "scarce a sermon seemed to be preached without some good impressions." [r] So extensive and powerful was the influence on the minds of the people, that above a thousand inquirers visited Mr. Webb, one of the pastors of the New North Church, in three months; and Mr. Cooper, minister in Brattle Square, "was wont to say, that more came to him, in one week, in deep concern about their souls, than in the whole twenty-four years of his preceding ministry. I can also say the same," adds Mr. Prince, "as to the numbers who repaired to me." [s] "The very face of the town," he continues, "seemed to be strangely altered.

(p) See his account of the Revival in Boston in 1740: Christian History, vol. ii. pp. 375—379.

(q) Christian History, ii. 381.

(r) Do. p. 395;—the Rev. Gilbert Tennent of Philadelphia, was here from Dec. 13, 1740 to March 2, 1740,1, and preached often, and was greatly instrumental in promoting the revival.

(s) Christian History, ii. 391.

Some who had not been here since the fall before, have told me their great surprise at the change in the general look and carriage of the people, as soon as they landed."[t] Tippling houses were deserted, vicious associations broken up; and the great mass of the community, for a time, mainly attentive to the concerns of their souls.[u] Large additions were made to all the eight Congregational, and two Presbyterian churches then in the town, "the greater part of whom gave" their pastors "a more exact account of the work of the Spirit of God on their souls in effectual calling, than" they were "wont to hear before." Nor was the goodness of *these* converts like the morning cloud and the early dew. Of those who were received to the church in Brattle Street, Mr. Colman remarked, more than three years after the commencement of the revival, "the good fruits of their abiding profession unto this day, in a discreet, meek, virtuous, pious conversation, give me satisfaction and pleasure in them from day to day."[v] And Mr. Prince testified, at a still later period,[w] "Of *our* numerous additions," with one exception, the "conversation, as far as I know, is as becomes the Gospel. Nor do I hear of any in the other churches in town, that have fallen into censurable evil, except a few of the New North."[x]

In this glorious work of God, as the statements already made have implied, this congregation largely shared. Its pastors were among the most active promoters and able defenders of the work. Within these walls did the voice of the apostolic Whitefield fall, in demonstration of the Spirit, on the ears of thousands of breathless hearers. Here the word spoken by other servants of Christ, was carried to the conscience and the heart with a divine power. In conformity with the custom at that period, sixty "bills of the awakened," asking prayers, are stated to have been put up here at one time.[y] And of the fruits of the blessed and mighty influence, *more than an hundred* were added to this church; and, we hope, here trained up for heaven. (39)

We now turn to a scene of a different character, yet strikingly illustrating the mercy and faithfulness of our and our fathers' God. Says the late president Dwight, when discoursing on the subject of 'answer to prayer,'[z] "I am bound as an inhabitant of New England to declare, that were there no other instances to be found in any other country, the blessings communicated to this, would furnish ample satisfaction concerning this subject, to every sober, much more to every pious, man. Among these, *the destruction*

(t) Christian History, vol. ii. p. 397.
(u) Do. p. 398.
(v) Do. p. 413.
(w) In November 1744, more than four years after the commencement of the Revival. Christian History, vol. ii. p. 412.
(x) Several had left the churches of which they had been members and formed a separate church. Mr. Prince in the place referred to speaks of *other* censurable evils.
(y) Do. p. 391.
(z) Theology, v. 40, 41.

of the French armament under the Duke D'Anville, in the year 1746, ought to be remembered, with gratitude and admiration, by every inhabitant of this country. This fleet consisted of forty ships of war; was destined for the destruction of *New England;* was of sufficient force to render that destruction, in the ordinary progress of things, certain; and sailed from Chebucto in Nova Scotia for this purpose." In the mean time, our pious fathers, apprised of their danger and feeling that their only safety was in God, had appointed a season of fasting and prayer to be observed in all their churches. "While Mr. Prince was officiating" in this Church, "on this fast day, and praying most fervently to God to avert the dreaded calamity, a sudden gust of wind arose, (the day had till now been perfectly clear and calm,) so violent as to cause a loud clattering of the windows. The Rev. pastor paused in his prayer; and, looking round upon the congregation with a countenance of hope, he again commenced, and with great devotional ardor, supplicated the Almighty to cause *that wind* to frustrate the object of our enemies, and save the country from conquest and popery. A tempest ensued, in which the greater part of the French fleet was wrecked on the coast of Nova Scotia. The Duke D'Anville the principal general, and the second in command, both committed suicide. Many died with disease, and thousands were consigned to a watery grave. The small number who remained alive, returned to France without health and without spirits."[a] And the enterprise was abandoned, and never again resumed. (40)

Having gathered in the spiritual harvests of 1740—2, the venerated Sewall and Prince were permitted to continue sixteen years longer their united and affectionate labors for the spiritual good of this congregation. In the fall of 1757, the health of Mr. Prince began visibly to decline. "When means used to restore it failed," we are informed in the memorial of him left us by his colleague, "he expressed his submission to the will of God, saying 'It is just as it should be.' When he drew nearer to death, he seemed to endure some hard conflicts, and it was painful to him to speak; however, he expressed a deep sense of the deadly evil of sin, and of his own vileness by reason of it, mentioning its aggravation on account of the peculiar advantages he enjoyed; and expressed his entire dependence on God through Jesus Christ;" saying "that he was weary of this world, and that it was his chief concern that his evidences for heaven might be more full and clear. One of his last petitions was, that an open and abundant entrance might be ministered to him into God's heavenly kingdom. And when his speech failed, be-

(a No. 8 of "Recollections of a Bostonian" published in the Columbian Centinel in 1821. The late Mrs. Huntington told me, that she had heard Mrs. Waters and Mrs. Mason, well known aged members of the Old South Church, give substantially the same account of Mr Prince's praying on that fast day.

ing asked, whether he could commit his soul into the hands of Christ, and so resign himself to the will of God; he lifted his dying hand to signify it. And thus, we have abundant reason to believe, he entered into the everlasting rest which remains to the people of God, on the Lord's day, a little after sunset,"[b] October 22, 1758, aged 72. His funeral sermon was preached by Dr. Sewall on the next Sabbath, being the day on which, in conformity with a vote of the church already noticed, his Revisal of the Psalms began to be used in the public worship of the congregation.[c]

Dr. Sewall continued sole pastor,—assistance being provided for him, most of the time, by the society, half of each Sabbath,—until February 25, 1761; when the Rev. Alexander Cumming was installed as colleague pastor. (41) Mr. Cumming was a native of New Jersey. He received his academical education chiefly under the direction of his uncle, Rev. Samuel Blair of Fagg's Manor in Pennsylvania, a man greatly distinguished for his learning and piety;[d] and studied theology under the care of the celebrated William Tennent.[e] He was licensed to preach in 1746 or 1747; and was three years minister of the Presbyterian church in the city of New York.[f] He "was a man," it is said, "of a remarkably clear and discriminating mind; a close student, and an instructive, excellent preacher. He had a singularly happy faculty of disentangling and exhibiting the most abstruse and intricate subjects; and was peculiarly acceptable to the more discerning classes of his hearers."[g] His career of usefulness in this place was short. He died August 25, 1763, aged 36.

Thus the venerable Sewall was again left with the sole charge of the congregation. Three years after another colleague was settled, the Rev. Samuel Blair. This gentleman was a son of the Rev. Samuel Blair, already mentioned as the uncle and academical instructor of Mr. Cumming. He graduated at the College of New Jersey in 1760; after which he served, about a year, as tutor in that institution. He was licenced to preach, and had been ordained, in the Presbyterian connexion; and was installed pastor of this church, November 26, 1766. (42) He was a man of fine talents, and extensive acquirements; greatly distinguished as a sermonizer, particularly as a master of the touching and pathetic. His voice, it is said, was feeble and

(b) Funeral Sermon by Dr. Sewall, pp. 17, 18.
(c) Dr. Sewall, in his funeral sermon, having noticed this Revisal, adds, "I hope the introduction of it into our psalmody *this day* will be for the glory of God, and our edification." p. 16. It appeared from the Records, that the practice of reading and singing line by line had been continued till this time; in commencing the use of the Revisal, it was, by a vote of the church, discontinued.
(d) See Miller's Life of Rev. Dr. John Rodgers, p. 17.
(e) See his Life by the late Elias Boudinot, LL. D.
(f) From Oct. 1750 to Oct. 1753.
(g) Miller's Life of Rodgers, p. 146. See also Dr. Sewall's funeral sermon, and Allen's Biographical Dictionary.

tremulous; yet his delivery was uncommonly impressive. In September 1767, about ten months after his settlement here, Mr. Blair was, by a unanimous vote of the Trustees of the College of New Jersey, elected to the presidency of that institution. This was after the celebrated Dr. Witherspoon had declined his *first* appointment to that office. In a few weeks after Mr. Blair's election, it became known that Dr. Witherspoon, having had his doubts satisfied as to some points of difficulty, might now be induced to accept the office. Upon learning this, Mr. Blair, with an honorable promptness and magnanimity, immediately declined the appointment. When it is considered of what able and venerable men the Board of Trustees of Princeton College was at that time composed, and that Mr. Blair was then only about twenty seven years old, this election must be regarded as a testimony to his high reputation of a very decisive kind. In the spring of 1769, being in feeble health, Mr. Blair took a journey to Philadelphia. While there, he was visited with severe sickness; which, it was apprehended, had still further and permanently impaired his constitution. The state of his health, and the existence of certain difficulties which had sprung up between him and his people,[h] which he thought it not likely would be easily removed, induced him, in the following September, to write to the church and congregation requesting a dismission; and he was, accordingly, dismissed, October 10, 1769. Mr. Blair's health, in the judgment of himself and others, was never again such as to permit him to resume a pastoral charge. He resided many of the last years of his life at Germantown in Pennsylvania, where he died in September 1818, aged 78.

A few weeks after Mr. Blair left for Philadelphia, as just stated, the venerable and excellent Sewall entered into his rest. He had, for some time, on account of his infirmities, been carried into the pulpit[i] from Sabbath to Sabbath; where, like the beloved disciple of old in his latter days, he sat, and with paternal and apostolic affection and fidelity, instructed and exhorted his children in the faith. The evening he had arrived at fourscore, he preached to his people an appropriate sermon. The next Sabbath he was seized with a paralytic complaint, which confined him to his house the remaining months of his earthly existence, causing him considerable pain, but not depriving him of reason. As we should expect, he was a pattern of submission and patience. He acknowledged himself an unprofitable servant, and looked to the atoning sacrifice of Christ alone for pardon. He spoke of dying with cheerfulness; and was repeatedly heard to say, with great pathos, "Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly." He died June 27, 1769; having nearly attained the age of 81.

(h) In relation to "the half-way covenant."
(i) In an arm chair, by the sexton and another individual.

After the dismission of Mr. Blair in the following October, the church was vacant nearly two years, till September 25, 1771; when two pastors were settled at the same time, the Rev. JOHN BACON and Mr. JOHN HUNT. (43) Mr. Bacon was "a native of Canterbury, Conn.," graduated at the College of New Jersey in 1765, was licensed and ordained in the Presbyterian connexion, and had preached sometime in Somerset County, Maryland." Mr. Hunt was born at Northampton, and graduated at Harvard College in 1764. They were both men of talents and promise. Mr. Bacon's style of preaching was argumentative; his manner approaching the severe. Mr. Hunt was descriptive and pathetic; and peculiarly affectionate and winning in conversation and public speaking.

Not long after their settlement, a dissatisfaction appeared in the congregation with Mr. Bacon, which, continuing and increasing, led to his dismission, February 8, 1775. (44) He removed to Stockbridge in this State; "and entered upon civil life, though he occasionally preached; became a justice of the peace; a representative in the Legislature; associate, and presiding judge of the Common Pleas; a member and president of the State Senate; and a member of Congress. He died October 25, 1820."[j]

About the commencement and during the continuance of Mr. Hunt's ministry, were occurring the memorable scenes which issued in the American revolution. Of these so many were associated with this edifice, as to have obtained for it the appellation of the "sanctuary of freedom."[k] Here was delivered, in defiance of the threats of authority and in the presence of marshalled soldiery, Warren's fearless oration on the anniversary of the massacre of the 5th of March, 1770. (45) Here were repeatedly held the meetings of oppressed freemen, which called forth those peals of patriotic eloquence, which moved this whole country, and shook the British throne.

Soon after the battle of Lexington, in the spring of 1775, the gates of Boston were shut, and all passing and repassing of citizens between town and country prohibited, by the British commander. Mr. Hunt was at that time on a visit at Brookline. Returning to Boston, he was not permitted to enter, unless he would pledge himself to remain. Not choosing to give this pledge, he retired to Northampton; where he died, of consumption, the following December, aged 31. (46)

During the occupancy of Boston by the British troops, the congregation was broken up, most of its members having sought an asylum in different country towns. Their parsonage-house

(j) History of the County of Berkshire. The writer also states, that "he had a strong mind, was fond of debate and tenacious of his opinions; but decided in prosecuting what he deemed his duty."

(k) Snow's History of Boston, p. 310.

on Marlboro' Street,[l]—formerly the mansion of Winthrop the first governor,—was demolished, and the materials used for fuel. Their Meeting House was turned into a riding-school for Burgoyne's regiment of cavalry; the pulpit and pews, and all the inside structures, being taken out and burnt for fuel, except the sounding-board and east galleries; the latter of which were left for the accommodation of spectators; and in the first gallery a place was fitted up where liquor and refreshments were furnished to those who came to witness the feats of horsemanship here exhibited.[m] Many hundred loads of dirt and gravel were carted in, and spread upon the floor. The south door was closed; and a bar was fixed[n] over which the cavalry were taught to leap their horses at full speed. In the winter, a stove was put up; in which were burnt, for kindling, many of the books and manuscripts from Mr. Prince's library. (47) Thus was the holy place profaned, until the British army evacuated Boston in March 1776.

The inhabitants speedily returned to their homes. For some months the members of the Old South Society attended worship with the various other congregations. In the fall of 1777, Mr. Joseph Eckley, a licentiate of a Presbytery in New Jersey, having come to town, and preached in different places with acceptance, a meeting of the church and congregation was called; and application made to the few proprietors of King's Chapel then here, for the use of their House, and to Mr. Eckley to preach as a supply. The applications were both successful. The congregation were kindly, and gratuitously, accommodated at the Chapel about five years.[o] July 19, 1778, the church and congregation voted to observe 'a day of prayer and humiliation before God, on account of the very affecting dispensations of his providence towards them, particularly in the death of their late worthy pastor, the Rev. Mr. John Hunt, whereby they were left as sheep without a shepherd, and in the destruction of the beautiful building where they used statedly to meet for the worship of God, by those wicked and unreasonable men, the British troops; and to present their supplications before their God that he would be pleased to lead and direct them to the choice of an able, faithful and successful minister of the New Testament, and, in

(l) Now Washington Street; the house stood on the spot now occupied by the north end of South Row. It was of wood, two stories high, with the end towards the street.

(m) The author of "Recollections of a Bostonian" says, in the Columbian Centinel of Nov. 17, 1821, "a *grog shop* was erected in the gallery, where liquor was sold to the soldiery, and consequently produced scenes of riot and debauchery in that holy temple." But several aged persons with whom I have conversed, some of whom were here while the town was occupied by the British troops, and all of whom say they recollect the appearance of the church after their departure, and the conversation current respecting it at that time, say that the soldiers were not allowed to resort to the gallery, which was reserved for the officers and their ladies and friends, who used to assemble there to witness the performances, and that the erection in the gallery was to furnish them liquor and refreshments.

(n) It extended, from the wall on the west side of the first window west from the Milk Street door, about ten feet long and four feet from the floor.

(o) "From Nov. 9, 1777 to Feb. 23, 1783; excepting five months in 1781, 2, when they met at the Representatives Room at the State House." Society's Records.

his own time and way, set him over them.' On the 8th of September, the church gave Mr. Eckley a call; the congregation concurred on the 9th; and he was ordained October 27, 1779. (48)

In July 1782,—the proprietors of King's Chapel expecting soon to resume its occupancy for their own use,—the Old South church and congregation voted to repair their Meeting House. It was completed in the following spring; in the same general style in which it now appears, except the pulpit, the form as well as the substance of which have since been changed. [p] Like the temple of old, when rescued from the profanation of the Syrians by the Macabees, [q] the House was, in a manner, rededicated, on the Lord's day, March 2, 1783;—the pastor delivering an appropriate discourse, to an immense assembly; the choir singing, in an anthem prepared for the occasion, "He hath raised up the tabernacle of David that was fallen; he hath closed up the breaches thereof; he hath raised up the ruins; he hath built it, as in the days of old; and caused his people to rejoice therein. Praise the Lord." (49)

The narrative will here be suspended; to be resumed and finished, if providence permit, on the next Sabbath.

(p) It was what is commonly called "a *tub* pulpit." The present pulpit was built in 1808, after Mr. Huntington was settled as colleague with Dr. Eckley, by the late Dea. William Phillips, at an expense of $400, and presented to the society.

(q) 1 Maccab. iv, 41—46.

SERMON III.

Isaiah lix, 19.

WHEN THE ENEMY SHALL COME IN LIKE A FLOOD, THE SPIRIT OF THE LORD SHALL LIFT UP A STANDARD AGAINST HIM.

The notice which was taken,—near the close of the last delivered of these discourses,—of the two pastors who immediately preceded Dr. Eckley, has already intimated, that it is not my design to attempt to give a formal character of those ministers who were well known and are distinctly recollected by a large portion of the congregation, as I have done of those who were known and are remembered by none or by very few now living. My business, therefore, in relation to the portion of the period occupied by the history of this church still to be reviewed, is simply to give a faithful account of the more interesting events that have occurred since the reoccupancy of the Meeting House, in 1783, for the sacred purposes to which it was originally devoted.

The passage of Scripture just repeated, indicates what I regard to be the most prominent aspect of the occurrences now to be noticed, viz. the coming in upon the Congregational churches of this metropolis and region, and to *some extent*, for *a time*, upon this church, of what the pastors and members of the church with very few exceptions, and the great body of the congregation, from the beginning, have regarded as at variance with and subversive of evangelical truth and piety; and the lifting up by the Spirit of the Lord of a standard against this enemy, by which his approaches to this citadel of Zion have hitherto been repelled, and we enabled to send forth colonies and establish other posts for the defence and enlargement of the Redeemer's kingdom.

Let none be led by this remark to apprehend, that the unwonted sound of theological controversy and invective is about to reverberate within these walls. Those who are accustomed to attend on the usual ministrations from this pulpit will have no such apprehension. I am simply about to state, honestly and frankly, —as the task I have undertaken requires me to do,—the most prominent events in the religious history of this congregation, and as far as is necessary of this place and region, during the period yet to be reviewed,—without any criminations or reproaches; and, with the calmness and fearlessness which become a successor of Thatcher, and Willard, and Pemberton, and Sewall, to express my deliberate impressions of the character and bearing of the facts to be narrated. Not to do this would be treason—to the duty at present devolved upon me, to the reputation of this ancient and venerable church, to the obligations imposed by the signal and long continued favor of heaven.

The period in which Dr. Eckley was called to exercise his ministry in this congregation was one of peculiar trial. There had long been at work causes which had been preparing the way for and producing, in this metropolis, and extensively in New England, material defections from the sentiments and the piety of the Puritans. Some of these have been adverted to, for a different purpose, in preceding parts of this sketch.

The provision, already noticed as adopted at the very commencement of the colony and continued in force for half a century, that none should have the rights of freemen who were not members of some regularly established church, had a most powerful influence in preparing the way for corruption in doctrine and practice. As it is now easy to see would be the tendency of such a provision, it operated to the injury of the churches and the detriment of religion in different ways. In the first place, it must have continually exerted a secularizing influence, in regard to religion, on the minds of the truly pious, by causing a religious character and profession to be habitually viewed as the means of enjoying civil privileges. In the next place, notwithstanding the strictness of examination of candidates for church privileges at that period, there can be no doubt that this regulation brought into the church numbers, continually increasing, who entered it, not from simple regard to the institutions of Christ and the welfare of his spiritual kingdom, but from selfish and mercenary motives,—for the sake of the secular advantages connected with church membership. Thus there was early introduced into the churches the corrupting leaven of unsanctified members, who had no spirituality, no sincere, heartfelt attachment to the truth and precepts and discipline of the Gospel, and no true zeal for the promotion of vital religion. Here was "a root of evil planted in the church" itself,

"which would be sure to spring up in one direction or another, and spread abroad its disastrous shade, and scatter around its bitter fruit." And from without a most pernicious influence was produced and fostered by the same cause. Those who did not apply for admission to the churches, or having applied were refused, and were thus excluded from all civil privileges, became greatly dissatisfied with the existing institutions. This, when their numbers became considerable, produced, as was stated in the first of these discourses, a long continued and violent contention. A contest arose which, of course, affected the preaching, the conversation, the whole conduct, of both ministers and people. The religion of the heart was more and more neglected, the means of grace were applied, with less and less fidelity, and the influences of the Spirit were gradually withdrawn.

The result of this unhappy contest, as you have already been informed, was the decision by the Synod of 1662, that all baptized persons were to be considered members of the church, and, if not scandalous in their lives, to be admitted to all its privileges except a participation of the Lord's Supper. This decision was, at length, acquiesced in by most of the churches in New England, probably by all in the Plymouth and Massachusetts colonies. This gave rise to what has been commonly called *the Half-way-covenant.* A name which, of itself indicates that religion and the observance of its sacred rites were extensively becoming, in the estimation of the people, a sort of half way business, and, of course, its energy and vitality dying away. According to the provisions of this arrangement, persons who, confessedly, had not given their hearts to God, for the purpose of obtaining access to the, in such case, mere ceremony of baptism for their children, were permitted and encouraged to come and 'profess before God, angels and men, to give themselves up to God the Father as their chief good; to the Son of God as their Mediator, Head and Lord, relying upon him as the Prophet, Priest and King of their salvation; to the Holy Spirit of God, as their Sanctifier, Guide and Comforter, to be temples for him to dwell in;'[a]—were permitted and encouraged to come and make, in the most solemn circumstances, the most solemn of all professions, when they did not regard themselves, and those around did not regard them, as having at all, in heart, given themselves away to God, and trusted in Christ, and yielded themselves up to be temples of the Holy Ghost. And, as to the promises which were annexed, of educating children in the fear of the Lord and submitting to the discipline of the church, on the one hand, and of watchful care on the

(a) These are the terms in the half-way-covenant last used in this church

other, they soon came to be alike disregarded, both by those who exacted, and by those who made them; parents did not, and were soon not expected to, fulfil their engagements, in form so significant and solemn; and churches did not, and were soon not expected to fulfil theirs. Thus the most solemn and expressive acts of religion came to be regarded as unmeaning ceremonies;—the form only to be thought important, while the substance was overlooked and rapidly passing away. [b]

And now another and still more fatal step was taken in this downward course. Why should such a difference be made between the two Christian sacraments, which, reason infers from the nature of the case, and the Scriptures clearly determine, require precisely the same qualifications? And why, if persons were qualified to make, in order to come to one ordinance, the very same profession, both in meaning and in terms, required to come to the other, why should they be excluded from that other? The practical result, every one sees, would be, that, if the innovation already made were not abandoned, another would speedily be introduced. And such was the fact. Correct moral deportment, with a profession of correct doctrinal opinions and a desire for regeneration, came to be regarded as the only qualification for admission to the communion. This innovation, though not as yet publicly advocated by any, there is conclusive proof had become quite extensive in practice previously to 1679. [c] Thus was abandoned, by the New England churches extensively, that principle, viz. 'that particular churches ought to consist of regenerate persons,'—the letting go of which soon after the apostolic age, a distinguished writer has affirmed and proved, "was the occasion and means of introducing all that corruption in doctrine, worship, order and rule, which ensued, and ended in the great apostasy." [d] And in this instance, the same effects soon began to appear. The churches soon came to consist very considerably, in many places, of unregenerate persons,—of those who regarded themselves and were regarded by others as unregenerate. The standard of religious profession was greatly lowered; and, of course, vital religion itself came to be continually less and less regarded; the close and pungent preaching of the first ministers would not be endured, and it gradually ceased; and the sanctifying and converting energy of the Holy Spirit was withdrawn.

(b) The character and influence of the half-way-covenant are well described in Bellamy's Works, iii. 393.

(c) The proof is the fact adverted to in the first of these sermons, that one of the measures earnestly recommended by "the Reforming Synod" in 1679, was a return to the ancient strictness in admitting persons to the Lord's Supper.

(d) Owen's True Nature of a Gospel Church, Chap. i, Works xx. 363, 8vo. London, 1826.

These were the principal causes of the general and distressing decline of religion, the palpable manifestation of which, with the inflictions and the threatening aspects of providence, led to 'the Reforming Synod' of 1679. (50) The deliberations and results of this Synod, and the consequent measures of reformation adopted by the churches, had a happy influence. But it was only temporary. The causes of the declension so impressively acknowledged, continued still in existence and in vigorous operation; except the single one of church membership being a qualification for the privileges of freemen, which was done away, partly in 1664, entirely in 1686. But in its stead, there soon came in the operation of other causes of similar tendency and influence. The political troubles connected with the abrogation of the colonial charter and the settlement of a new government, greatly agitated the public mind, and interfered with serious attention to the duties and interests of religion. In 1707, the sentiment was publicly advocated that "sanctification is not a necessary qualification for partaking of the Lord's Supper;" [e] and, though at first opposed, was soon adopted and practised upon by the ministers and churches generally. The door having been thus, professedly as well as really, opened for persons without piety to enter the church; as a very natural consequence, there soon ceased to be any let or hindrance to their entering the ministry. And there is painful evidence that, previous to the year 1740, many of this description did enter the ministry. (51) "They were grave men, in *speculation* evangelical, or *moderately* so; and performed their customary ministerial duties with regularity: but their preaching lacked point, and earnestness, and application; their devotional services were without warmth and unction; their labors were not blessed of the Holy Spirit; their people slumbered; the tone of religious feeling and sentiment was sinking; and true godliness seemed fast retiring from the land."

And now began to come in that form of doctrine [f] which, by its imaginary "new law of grace" and other kindred errors, leads men to be satisfied, on principle, with a decent attendance on the outward institutions of religion, connected with morality and sobriety of life. (52)

Of all these things the consequence was that, within thirty years after the commencement of the eighteenth century, a large proportion of the clergy;—not all, by any means; there were many happy exceptions, among whom are to be classed the then ministers of this Church, [g] and probably all the minis-

(e) By the Rev. Solomon Stoddard of Northampton. See Dwight's Life of President Edwards, Chapter xix, p. 298.
(f) Speculative Arminianism.
(g) Sewall and Prince.

ters at that time settled in Boston; yet, very many of the clergy through the country, were, either only speculatively correct, or to some extent actually erroneous, in their religious opinions; maintaining regularly the forms of religion, but, in some instances, having well nigh lost, and in others, it is to be feared, having never felt, its power. The churches were generally in a cold and formal state. "There was," as we have already heard Mr. Prince testify, "a great decay of godliness both in the town and land." [h]

Thus had the enemy come in like a flood, when the Spirit of the Lord lifted up a standard against him, by granting the series of remarkable revivals with which New England generally, and some other colonies, were visited from 1735 to 1744. Of this remarkable attention to religion, it has been said, by one qualified to estimate its character and who made himself familiar with its history, that "at its commencement, it appears to have been, to an unusual degree, a silent, powerful and glorious work of the Spirit of God,—the simple effect of truth applied to the conscience, and accompanied by his converting grace. So auspicious, indeed, was the opening of this memorable work of God, and so rapid its progress, that the promised reign of Christ on the earth was believed by many to be actually begun. Had it continued of this unmixed character, so extensive was its prevalence, and so powerful its operation, it would seem that, in no great length of time, it would have pervaded this western world." But "as is usual in such cases, it" soon began to be "opposed, by the enemies of vital religion, with a violence proportioned to its prevalence and power." [i] And, as the statements already made have evinced, there were then many enemies of *vital* religion in the churches, and some in the ministry. (53) But, as has too often been the case, the "worst enemies" of the work "were found among its most zealous friends." [j] In some places practices highly censurable were introduced; and measures were adopted for the purpose of extending the influence which tended to produce disorder and confusion. The more judicious friends of the revival discerned these commencing evils, and promptly made exertions to check them. [k] And in many places, it should be explicitly stated, these irregularities were wholly unknown, and in very few did they become predominant. [l] Yet such was their extent and character that

(h) Christian History, ii. 375.
(i) Dwight's Life of President Edwards, p. 191.
(j) Ibid. p. 191.
(k) Particularly the Rev. Mr., afterwards President, Edwards, in his Thoughts on the Revival of Religion in New England.
(l) Dwight's Life of President Edwards, p. 194. Said Dr. Colman of this city, in a letter dated Nov. 23, 1741, "We have seen little of those extreams or supposed blemishes of this work in *Boston*, but much of the blessed fruits of it have fallen to our share. God has spoken to us in a more soft and calm wind; and we have neither had those outcries and faintings in our assemblies which have disturbed the worship in many places; nor yet those manifestations of joy inexpressible which now fill some of our eastern parts." Christian History, ii. 386.

they prejudiced some good men against the revival; and put into the hands of the enemies of vital religion the most efficient weapons with which they assailed the work; and led the authors of the exceptionable measures to indulge very improper feelings, and conduct toward their opponents, in some respects, in a very improper manner.

The methods pursued by the opposers of the revival were various. In Connecticut, they resorted to open persecution; and, by prosecution, imprisonment, and transportation out of the colony, sought to put a stop to the work: a method of proceeding which, as might have been expected, at length wrought the disgrace and overthrow of its promoters, and restored the friends of the revival to even greater favor than they had lost. In Massachusetts the opposition was conducted in a different manner. The work was "assailed by sneers, reproaches, unfavorable insinuations, and slanderous reports. The abuses of it were much insisted on and exaggerated; and the friends of it were treated in a manner which had all the effect of palpable persecution without its odium. Warm, active, devoted piety was rendered disgraceful; and strong prejudices were excited and confirmed against every thing which bore the appearance of a revival." And the result was, the work soon universally ceased. On the one hand, a large number of ministers and Christians were greatly elevated in their views of divine truth and of experimental religion, and of the methods to be used for their promotion: a holy fire was kindled, which diffused a warmth and vigor, never since wholly extinguished, and to which may be directly traced most that is at present desirable in the religious aspect of things in New England, and through our whole land. But, on the other hand, a considerable number of ministers and laymen settled down, either into avowed erroneous opinions, or into a strange indifference in regard to religious doctrine; warmth and engagedness in religion were condemned as 'things of a bad and dangerous tendency;' innovations in doctrine were considered as things of small importance; and pretensions to unusual seriousness named and treated as a vicious 'enthusiasm.' (54)

The latter of these influences began, soon after the revival, to be the predominant one in the metropolis and surrounding region. The causes of this were various. Here was continued, in all the churches, the lax practice in reference to the communion,[m] which was, in other parts of the country, giving place to the correct and scriptural practice. The coming in of Armenian

(m) The statement by Mr. Prince, already quoted, of his opinion that piety was not an indispensable qualification for communion, was published in February 1744,5. He mildly censures Mr. Tennent for "being so exceeding strict in cautioning people from running into churches, taking the sacred covenant, and receiving the Lord's Supper, the seal thereof, *till they had saving grace.*" Christian History, ii. 396.

principles, as is often the case, drove the friends and advocates of truth somewhat into the opposite extreme, and imparted to their views of doctrine something of an antinomian cast, which, of course, blunted the point of their preaching and greatly diminished its power. (55) But, more than all the rest, the writings and influence of one of the most talented ministers which Boston has ever produced; who was unfriendly to the revival from the first, published against it as early as 1743; and exerted himself, with great diligence and success, during a long life, to bring every thing of the kind into disrepute. [n]

And to all this is to be added the influence of the political conflicts in which the country was almost continually engaged from 1744. First was the French war, which terminated in 1762. Only three years after, the stamp act was passed; and those agitations commenced which led to the war of the revolution, and terminated with the acknowledgment of our independence in 1783. "During these times of high political excitement, interest and peril, all other concerns seemed to be merged in those of the nation. And perhaps no class of citizens were more deeply interested than the clergy. By their prayers, their sermons, their conversation, influence and example, they endeavored to the utmost to sustain the courage of the citizens, and secure the deliverance of their bleeding country. This course of procedure," while in the circumstances of the case perhaps "commendable and necessary," had a powerful influence to "withdraw the minds of the clergy, and, through them, of their people, from the great concerns of religion and the soul. The tone of religious sentiment and feeling was relaxed, and the cause of Christ neglected. A multitude of unprincipled foreigners were introduced into the country, as enemies or allies, to trample on its institutions, and corrupt the principles and habits of its citizens." Respect for the sabbath and other religious observances was greatly diminished. "A large proportion of the young men were withdrawn from their customary pursuits to a military course of life, and familiarized to all the temptations of the field and the camp." Very many of the active portion of the community had "their minds," for a series of years, "drawn away from the great concern of life. Their moral sense became blunted; their respect for the law, the truth, and the institutions of God was diminished; while, under the pretence of superior knowledge, greater enlargement of mind, a freedom from prejudice, and a spirit of catholicism, they were led to regard all religious systems as of about equal value, and to prefer that, of course, which would impose the

(n) The Rev. Charles Chauncey, D. D. ordained pastor of the First Church, Oct. 25, 1727, and died Feb. 10, 1787, aged 82; who probably did more than any other individual to transform the religious character of Boston and the surrounding region.

fewest restraints." And then, when these troubles had passed away, "in the joy of victory, and in the full tide of commercial prosperity and increasing wealth, the world engaged their affections more and more; its riches, honors and pleasures attracted their pursuit; while the bounteous Giver of all, his word, his truth, his institutions and laws, were forgotten and despised." [o]

In this state of things, Dr. Eckley commenced his ministry, and continued it above twenty years. The congregation was not large, and did not much increase. No meetings of the church were held, nor any other special means used, to promote vital religion. Two sermons were preached on the Sabbath, and a preparatory lecture once in four weeks; and these, with occasional pastoral visits, were all the means that were employed to sustain the cause of Christ against the tide of indifference and worldliness and error. The church, although there was no great strictness of examination for admission, received, in twenty four years, [p] an accession, by both profession and recommendation, of only one hundred and twenty five members; less than have, in more than one instance since, been received, upon careful examination, within two years. And similar was the state of things in all the other Congregational churches in the town.

In the mean time publications had been introduced from England, and extensively read and favorably received, impugning the doctrines of the essential divinity of Christ, his vicarious sacrifice, the personality, divinity and efficacious influence of the Holy Spirit, the entire moral depravity of man, the reality and necessity of regeneration, and indeed all the distinctive doctrines of the evangelical faith. These doctrines began to be secretly doubted and disbelieved by a large portion of the ministers and more influential laymen. [q] The pastor of this church, *while he held fast to all the other doctrines of the evangelical system*, became Semi-arian as it was anciently called, or according to modern language in this region, Worcesterian, in his views of the person of Christ. (56) Every thing evangelical and vital in doctrine and practice, in the Congregational denomination, was withering and ready to die. There was, indeed, one hope remaining. There were some who gave themselves to prayer; especially that band of holy women, among whom our own Waters and Mason were so honorably distinguished. (57) But almost every where else were to be seen, only discouragement

(o) See a more full account of the declensions in New England and their causes in a Series of Letters on "the Introduction and Progress of Unitarianism," in the Spirit of the Pilgrims for 1829; from which are taken the quotations in the preceding account not otherwise acknowledged.

(p) From October 1779, the time of Dr. Eckley's settlement, to October 1803, about the commencement of the revival among the Baptists, to be noticed presently. The congregation, it should be remembered, was all this time not large.

(q) See an account of the introduction and progress in this place and region of anti-evangelical opinions in "American Unitarianism," published in 1815, and in the Spirit of the Pilgrims for 1829, pp. 183—185, 289—298, and for 1830, pp. 113—125.

and the signs of decay. This congregation, in the summer of 1803, was deserted by a considerable portion of the younger class of its members.[r] The church was diminishing in number. All the religious interests of the society were visibly and rapidly declining.

Thus, with more fearful emphasis than ever before, the enemy was coming in like a flood. And now again did the Spirit of the Lord lift up a standard against him. In the fall of 1803, God was pleased to pour out his Spirit on the Baptist churches then in this city, and grant them a precious revival of religion; which continued with power above a year. Members of this and other Congregational churches and societies frequented the meetings of the Baptists during this season of special religious attention. Dr. Eckley and Drs. Stillman and Baldwin[s] had before been in the habit of attending each other's preparatory lectures. By this means Dr. Eckley was brought into the midst of the revival. The good man's heart became warmed. He attended other meetings of the Baptists beside their preparatory lectures, and took part in them in exhortation and prayer. Thus a reviving influence was brought into this congregation; which had, for a time, to struggle for existence; but has, by the grace of God, continued even until now, and rendered this again a flourishing vine, and caused it to send forth branches all around, that have taken root, and are bearing fruit to the glory of God.

As was natural, in the circumstances just described, to a man at heart devoted to the glory of God and the eternal interests of men, Dr. Eckley was desirous that the blessed influence of the revival should pervade his own congregation. With this view he endeavored to throw more energy and point into his preaching, and increased the frequency and fidelity of his visits among the families of his flock. And he had the happiness to witness some good fruits of these exertions. But all was not yet accomplished, or attempted, which he desired. He was anxious that some of those special means might be employed, whose happy influence he had felt and witnessed among his Baptist brethren. With this view he called a meeting of the brethren of the church on the 16th of October 1803, of which he has left us the following record. "In consequence of the manifestation of a much greater attention to religion than had been observed for some considerable time preceding, and of the desire of a number of the members of the church, in concurrence with the desire of the pastor, to encourage and improve so hopeful an appearance,

(r) They went to the congregation in Federal Street, where was settled that year a minister then supposed to be decidedly orthodox in his doctrines, and apparently much engaged in promoting evangelical piety. After the developements in 1815, to be more particularly mentioned presently, the most of these persons returned, or went to other evangelical societies.

(s) Pastors, the former of the First the latter of the Second, Baptist Churches.

it was proposed that a public lecture should be held in this church through the ensuing winter, at which the pastor should be requested to officiate, together with such ministers of the Boston Association and other clergymen who preached occasionally in this House, as might be inclined to render their assistance in the service proposed. After much serious conversation," it was "voted to postpone the determination on the subject to the next Sabbath afternoon." At the adjourned meeting, the subject was again taken into consideration, and "a vote of concurrence in the proposal was passed by a considerable majority of the members present."[t] This measure was disapproved by some of the church[u] and several of the congregation. Hitherto the church alone had acted on questions relating to the use of the Meeting House. Their right to do so was now called in question. A meeting of pewholders was held; and they decided that the House should not be opened agreeably to the vote of the church. This gave rise to an unhappy controversy between the church and the parish about the right of property and of direction of prudential affairs; which greatly agitated the congregation for nearly four years, till August 1807, when, by mutual consent of the parties, the controversy was dropped, and the ancient harmony restored.[v]

In the mean time special efforts continued to be made by the pastor and brethren of the church for the revival in the society of the spirit of religion. On the 13th of March 1804, a meeting was held, with the approbation of the pastor, of eight brethren of the church and congregation, who unanimously voted to "form themselves into a society for religious improvement." At their next meeting, on the 29th of the same month, they adopted certain regulations for the government of the society; of which the third was in the following words, "That the Rev. Dr. Joseph Eckley be invited to attend and preside in the society, at such stated meetings as shall be convenient for him; and that he be requested to preach, pray or converse on such religious subjects as to him shall appear most proper, and to invite such other gentlemen of the clergy, as he shall see fit, for said purposes." With this request Dr. Eckley cheerfully complied. And thus began the Tuesday evening meeting;[w] at which, at first, there was but one brother of the church, who felt sufficient confidence to lead in prayer; and which, for a time, encountered reproaches and opposition which, to us at the present day, seem almost in-

(t) Church Records, vol. 2.

(u) The great body of the church were at that time, undoubtedly, orthodox in their religious opinions; but some even of these had imbibed the prejudices then so common and so strong against extra meetings and religious zeal.

(v) See papers on file "relating to the controversy between the church and the society in the Old South, respecting property, in 1803—1807."

(w) It was commenced at a house in Cornhill, on the east side, a little north of State Street, which stood on the spot now occupied by No. 50, Washington Street. After a time, it was moved across the street, nearly opposite; then into Pond, now Bedford Street, where it was continued, with some interruptions, till a Vestry was provided in 1817.

credible,[x] but which was well attended, and made a blessing, from the beginning; and has lived and flourished till now; having, long since, silently overcome every prejudice, and been the parent of various other occasional meetings and special efforts for doing good; and, directly and indirectly, exerted a most powerful influence in preserving and promoting the love of truth and piety in this congregation.

The next important event in the history of this society, and of the revival of evangelical religion in our denomination in this town, was the settlement of the Rev. Joshua Huntington, in 1808. This gentleman was a son of the late Gen. Jedidiah Huntington of New-London, Conn.; graduated at Yale College in 1804; and studied divinity with President Dwight, the Rev. Mr. Hooker of Goshen, Conn., and the late Dr. Morse of Charlestown. He began to preach early in 1807. "During the year he preached as a candidate, the people, in each of several vacant parishes, were desirous of obtaining him for their minister. He received two formal invitations on the same day; one from" this church and society,[y] and "the other from the Congregational church in Middletown, Conn. About the same time he received an invitation from another church, in a pleasant and populous town. After the serious deliberation, and with the most judicious advice, he accepted the invitation from" this people; "and was ordained as colleague pastor with the Rev. Dr. Eckley, May 18, 1808."[z] And, in what manner, and with what success, he served you in the Gospel, is still fresh, and will long be cherished, in the affectionate remembrance of many who hear me.

"Near the close of the year 1808, the formation of a new church and ecclesiastical society in Boston, on evangelical principles, was proposed, by a number of individuals, chiefly members of the Old South church and congregation; and a subscription opened for the erection of a place of public worship. On the evening of Feb. 6, 1809, a meeting of the subscribers was held to carry the proposed plan into execution. Ten individuals were present. A committee were appointed to draw up Articles of Faith and a Church Covenant, to fix on a lot of land, and to procure the plan of a building. Feb. 27, 1809, the church was gathered by a

(x) Yet those who established and attended this meeting were in "the old paths and walking in the good way." Hutchinson, speaking of the period immediately succeeding the establishment of the colony, says, (i.56.) "Besides the meetings for public worship on the Lord's day, the stated lecture every Thursday in Boston, and other occasional lectures in other towns, there were frequent private meetings of the brethren of the churches for religious exercises." In Judge Sewall's journal are constant notices of his attending such meetings, (which he styles "Conference meetings") from Aug. 30, 1676, to near the time of his decease. In these meetings, when ministers were not present, he and other brethren prayed, and spoke, sometimes from a portion of Scripture. These meetings continued down to the time of the Whitfieldian revival, when they were greatly multiplied; and some then established were continued till the revolution: one continues till the present time.

(y) The church voted him a call, Feb. 8, and the society concurred Feb. 12th 1808.

(z) Memoir of Rev. Joshua Huntington in the Panoplist for Dec. 1820. (58)

Council. At its formation it consisted of twenty-six members;" of whom six had been dismissed from this church, and at least two of those received on profession had been members of this congregation. The corner-stone of their Meeting House was laid, at the bottom of Park Street, May 1, 1809; their House dedicated Jan. 10, 1810; and their first pastor installed July 31, 1811, this church being present and assisting in the Council convened for that purpose.[a] The establishment of this new society was a very important event in the history of the revival of evangelical religion in this town; and, by its cooperation in the promotion of the same great objects, has exerted an important influence on the advancement of the spiritual interests of this congregation.

April 30, 1811, Dr. Eckley deceased, after a short illness, aged 61; (59) and Mr. Huntington, from that time till his death, sustained alone the responsibilities and labors of the ministry in this congregation. The Society was now in a flourishing condition. The attendants on public worship steadily and rapidly increased. The church was continually gaining strength, both as to the decision of its members in regard to doctrine and piety, and increase of numbers. There was, during Mr. Huntington's ministry, no such special attention to religion as we commonly understand by a revival. Yet there was, during the whole time, a serious, growing and efficient attention to the subject. There was, it may be said with strict propriety of language, a continual revival.

At length, in 1815, a developement was made of the state of religious doctrine among the Congregational ministers and churches of this metropolis; and it appeared, that all the other ancient churches with their ministers had chosen to depart widely from the faith of their fathers; and that this church alone of its old associates, with its pastor, stood firm upon the ancient foundation, which we believe to be that "of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone." And from that time to the present, we have, we trust, by the grace of God, been built up continually on this foundation; while others, who, with us, once rested upon it, have, in the exercise of their Christian liberty,—for their use of which they are responsible only to God, been continually removing from it more and more.

During the ministry of Mr. Huntington, several important measures were adopted in reference to benevolent operations, in which he had an important agency. In 1815 was held, in his study, the meeting which issued in the formation of the American Education Society; which has since furnished so many other benevolent institutions with efficient agents, and so many churches with faithful and successful pastors. In 1816 was

(a) Sketch of the history of Park Street Church.

formed the Boston Society for the Religious and Moral Instruction of the Poor, of which Mr. Huntington was president till his death; and which established among us Sabbath schools, and preaching to the seamen, and to the destitute poor; and which, I hesitate not to say, advisedly, has, directly and indirectly, exerted more influence in the promotion of good morals and evangelical religion in this city than any other, I know not but I may say all other, similar institutions. [b] In June 1818, it was voted by this church to unite with the Park Street Church in observing the Monthly Concert of Prayer, in their Meeting House, a contribution to be taken monthly in aid of a mission to Palestine; which arrangement has been continued, with great satisfaction and profit, till the present time; having been also acceded to by all the evangelical Congregational churches that have been since established in the city. The only one of these gathered during Mr. Huntington's ministry was the church in Essex Street, in 1819; which, in its formation, had his entire approbation and co-operation. [c]

The constitution of Mr. Huntington, never robust, was gradually undermined by the anxieties and labors of his responsible station. "Several times he had been obliged to intermit his parochial labors for a season; but a resort to travelling had usually given him recruited health and vigor. In the spring and summer of 1819, he experienced considerable debility, and determined upon another journey." He set out on the 19th of July, in company with the then pastor of the Park Street Church, [d] and travelled more than 1700 miles. During the greater part of the journey, his health decidedly improved. When within a day's ride of home, he was so violently seized with a fever that he was compelled to stop at Groton; [e] where "he languished for sixteen days, and sunk to rest on Saturday Sept. 11th, 1819, in the twelfth year of his ministry, and the thirty-fourth of his age." [f]

After the death of Mr. Huntington, the church was vacant about seventeen months, till the settlement of the present pastor February 21, 1821. (60) The years that have succeeded have, through the great mercy of the Head of the Church, been years of peace, and of prosperity to this church and congregation, and to the cause of evangelical religion in this city and region. Since the agitations connected with my ordination, in

(b) He was a cordial friend and an active promoter of various other religious charities.
(c) He was a member of the Council which constituted the church, Jan. 27, 1819, and offered the prayer at the laying of the corner-stone of their Meeting House, June 26, 1819.
(d) Rev. Sereno E. Dwight.
(e) Thirty miles from Boston, where he was kindly and hospitably received by the Rev. Dr. Chaplin and family, and experienced every attention and alleviation in his sickness which it was in the power of Christian benevolence and medical skill to afford.
(f) Memoir in the Panoplist. The Rev. S. E. Dwight, pastor of the Park Street Church, preached his funeral Sermon.

which all parties were agreed in preventing the pastor from being in any way implicated and which quickly subsided, there has been, in the congregation, no contention, no unpleasant difference of opinion; and in the church, which has been called to transact much business, there has not, so far as I recollect, been a single vote taken that did not pass with perfect unanimity. In the mean while, six new evangelical Congregational churches have been formed and congregations collected in the City;—to all of which this church and congregation have cheerfully contributed members; and five Meeting Houses have been erected for their accommodation, in the expense of which members of this society have liberally shared:—and yet, this church has been steadily increasing in numbers, and, most of the time, nearly all the sittings in the House, that could be obtained, have been improved. During the whole period, there have been some inquiring what they should do to be saved, and, every few months, additions to the church. And twice has our compassionate God been graciously pleased to grant to us, in common with the other evangelical congregations in the city and vicinity, the special and copious effusions of his Holy Spirit.: in 1823 and 4, the fruits of which were an addition of one hundred and fourteen members to the church; and again in 1826, 7, and 8, which gave us another addition of an hundred and fifteen to the number of our communicants. And now, once more, the same unspeakable blessing is beginning to descend upon us; drops of mercy are falling, in the midst of us and around us, which we feel warranted to hope are the precursor of a copious and continuous shower.

Thus has the standard which the Spirit of the Lord in 1803, lifted up on this spot, consecrated by the tears and the prayers of our sainted ancestors, never been furled; but still waves in mercy, to lead us, and all who will follow it in faith and fidelity and self-denial and prayer, to new and greater conquests, till shall be heard through the earth the sound of "great voices in heaven, saying, The kingdoms of the world are become the kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ; and he shall reign forever and ever."

I have now finished the notice I proposed to take, in chronological order, of the more prominent events in the history of this ancient church. My design will be completed by a review of the whole period, with special reference to several items of interest and importance, and a statement of some of the practical lessons inculcated by the providences we have been contemplating:—which will be attempted in the afternoon.

SERMON IV.

Jeremiah vi. 16.

THUS SAITH THE LORD, STAND YE IN THE WAYS, AND SEE, AND ASK FOR THE OLD PATHS, WHERE IS THE GOOD WAY, AND WALK THEREIN; AND YE SHALL FIND REST FOR YOUR SOULS.

I am now, in fulfilment of the purpose announced at the close of the morning discourse, to review the period embraced in the history of this church, with special reference to several items of a general nature; and then to conclude the whole with a statement of some of the practical lessons inculcated by the providences we have been contemplating.

In noticing the items referred to, I shall speak,

1. First, of THE PROPERTY OF THE SOCIETY IN LANDS AND BUILDINGS; the history of which is briefly as follows. The gift of land, already noticed, by Madam Norton, on which was built the first Meeting House, was the southern part, along Milk Street, being somewhat less than half, of the land now owned by the society—excluding the lot on which the Chapel stands. The deed by which it was conveyed was dated April 1, 1669. On the 30th of June 1677, she gave, by another deed, the eastern half of the remainder of the lot; and, by will, on the 20th of August 1677, gave the residue of the lot, with the house in which she had resided. This lot was one of the original grants to John Winthrop, the first governor, and the father of the colony; and the house just mentioned, was the Mansion in which he resided till his death. The house was of wood, two stories high;

and stood, nearly opposite the end of School Street, fronting south; and, till the first Meeting House was erected, there was upon the lot no other building; and the premises presented the appearance indicated by the name by which they are described in the early records—"The Green;"—being skirted along the main street by a row of beautiful button-wood trees. These trees, with the house, were consumed for fuel, by the British troops, in the winter of 1775 and 6. In 1710 another parsonage house was erected on Milk Street; which, in 1810, gave place to the two ministerial houses now owned by the society. The buildings denominated "South Row," were erected in 1800. A part of the land on which the Chapel stands, was purchased in 1816, and a wooden building on the lot soon after fitted up as a Vestry; the remainder of the land was purchased in 1819, and the present commodious and elegant building erected in 1827. (61)

2. The method of transacting business in this society has been as follows. Proceedings strictly ecclesiastical—relating to the administration of ordinances, the admission and discipline of church members, calling of Councils, &c.—have always been confined to the church. In relation to temporal and prudential affairs the practice has varied. For upwards of fifty years, all business of every kind was transacted by the church. The first meeting of the church and congregation mentioned in the records was on the 28th of August 1722;—a meeting convened at the request of the church, to provide means and give directions for repairing the Meeting House. (62) Separate records began to be kept for the church and congregation August 11, 1735. After this, for many years, business relating to the temporal affairs of the society, was transacted both at meetings of the church, and of the church and congregation; on what principles of discrimination a careful examination has not enabled me to determine. From the last mentioned date, instances of the church alone acting in relation to such business, occur less and less frequently, till 1795; since which time, they have entirely ceased, and proceedings of this kind have been exclusively in the church and congregation. At first the church and congregation, when it met for the transaction of business, was composed of all the male members of the church and all who paid rent for pews; then, of all male members of the church and all proprietors of pews; and since April 2, 1818, of such male members of the church and of the congregation as are proprietors of pews. April 17, 1787, it was voted by the church and congregation, that a *Standing Committee* of *nine* persons, *five* of the church and *four* of the congregation, be chosen, to take all necessary care of all temporal matters of the society for the year; which committee, thus constituted,

has been continued, by an annual choice, to the present time. In settling a minister, the practice has been, uniformly, for more than an hundred years, for the church and society to act separately,—the church *first* voting a call. (63) If in any case, (an instance of which has never yet occurred,) the society should not concur in a call of the church, the proceedings of the latter on the subject would, of course, be void, and must be commenced anew in reference to the same or another candidate. Previously to 1760, the salary of ministers was determined and voted by the church; since that time by the church and congregation.

It is believed by the speaker, that the method of transacting business just detailed as, at present and for a number of years past, transacted by this church and society, is the one most consonant with the mutual rights, and best calculated peaceably and effectually to secure the respective privileges of churches and congregations, as they exist in this Commonwealth. May it be scrupulously observed, and its beneficial influence be experienced, by us and our successors to the end of time.

3. This church and congregation have from the beginning been KIND AND LIBERAL TO THE WIDOWS AND ORPHAN CHILDREN OF THEIR MINISTERS. Mr. Willard left a widow, and a large family of children. For several years they continued in the parsonage house, and received from the church a yearly grant of twenty pounds. Mrs. Pemberton also occupied the house in which she had resided with her husband previously to his decease, till it was wanted for another minister; and, for several years, received an annual grant of forty pounds. In 1739 it was determined by the church and congregation to establish "a fund, for charitable and pious uses,—*as well for the support of the widows and fatherless children of the pastors of the church from time to time*, as other uses of a charitable and pious nature." And among the regulations in regard to this fund, is the following, "that, while there shall be no widow or fatherless child of any of the pastors of the said church, the interest and income of that part of the fund raised for them, shall be added to the principal stock, not to be divided again: but, when there shall be a widow or fatherless child or more of said pastors, it shall be left to the said church to judge and order how much of the interest or income shall be disposed of for their support from time to time, and when to cease supporting them." [a] In relation to the subsequent history of this fund, I find in the records only a single notice. It is in a report, made to the society April 18, 1800, of a "committee appointed to examine into the state of the funds of the South church and congregation, and to

(a) Church records, vol. I.

endeavor to find from what source they have arisen, and the intentions of the donors." In this report is the following item, "Collected at sundry times, the interest to the use of ministers widows and children, £66, 19, 2." This proves that such a fund was actually instituted. June 17, 1811, soon after the decease of Dr. Eckley, [b] the church and congregation voted, "that it is the desire of the society that Mrs. Eckley remain in the parsonage house to the end of the present year; or, if it be more agreeable to her to remove therefrom, they will allow and pay her at the rate of one thousand dollars per annum, from the time she shall cease to occupy the same, until the last day of December next;"—also "that there be allowed to Mrs. Eckley the amount of salary which has been usually paid to the late Rev. Dr. Eckley until the last day of December next." After the death of Mr. Huntington, the society granted to his widow the use of the parsonage house till it should be wanted for another minister; the usual quantity of fuel, with the salary of her late husband, during the remainder of that and the next subsequent year; and from and after that time, one thousand dollars a year for six years; the salary and annuity, in case of her decease, to be continued and paid in the same manner for the benefit of her children. And when she died in 1823, the Standing Committee, "actuated," as is stated in the record, "by feelings of deep regret at her decease, and considering the relation she had sustained to the church and congregation, unanimously voted, that the charges of her funeral should be borne by the society."

It is with inexpressible satisfaction that I contemplate this uniform exhibition of kindness and liberality toward those whose situation is usually rendered, by the death of a beloved companion, one of loneliness and desolation,—who are, in most cases, widows indeed,—more truly than those similarly bereaved in any other station of life. Surely He, who is "a Father of the fatherless, and a Judge of the widow, in his holy habitation," will bless and prosper a people who persevere in maintaining such a character.

4. From the account given of the circumstances of the origin of this church, it will have been inferred that the, so called, Half-way-covenant was adopted in it at the beginning, and practised upon for some time. Such was the fact. According to the original act of the Synod of 1662, which is the basis of this arrangement as adopted in the churches of Massachusetts, parents who should wish to be received within its provisions, must give to the church satisfactory evidence of their "understanding the doctrine of faith, and publicly assent thereto;" must be "not scandalous in life, and solemnly own the covenant

(b) Who left a considerable estate.

before the church, wherein they give up themselves and their children to the Lord, and subject themselves to the government of Christ in the church;" and their children, "when grown up, are" to be considered and treated as "personally under the watch, discipline and government of the church."[c] On this basis the arrangement was adopted by this church at its formation, and attempted to be administered. But it was, almost continually, a source of difficulty. The discipline promised, and engaged to be submitted to, could not be enforced; and, consequently, the church and its ministers were frequently distressed by the consciousness of not redeeming their solemn pledges and discharging their duty. This is stated[d] to have been a prominent source of the difficulties in the case of Mr. Bacon, and is the only one mentioned in the case of Mr. Blair. Dr. Eckley had serious scruples and difficulties in regard to it. In 1787 the church gave the subject a deliberate examination; and determined, that such persons only could be admitted within the provisions of this arrangement, as should give satisfactory evidence that they were prepared to "present their offspring to God in baptism with *sincerity and devotion*," and should, as had before been the practice, profess publicly to "give themselves up to God in an everlasting covenant" in the same manner and in the same terms as those who were received into full communion, being prevented from coming to the Lord's Supper only by "*doubts* and *fears* concerning a personal approach to that ordinance;" and must solemnly "engage, to bring up their children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord:" and also "that a more particular connection should be considered as existing between those of this description and the members who partook of the sacramental Supper than had been usually contemplated" for some time before; "and that the church should, not only attend with care to the purity of their morals, but professedly engage its watchfulness, direction and assistance in regard to the whole of their spiritual concerns."[e] These are the latest proceedings on the subject; and, of course, present the basis of the arrangement as now existing, and on which alone persons can be received within its provisions, if any should desire it. They must give satisfactory evidence, that they are prepared in heart to take the same covenant in its essential articles, and give themselves up to God in the same manner, as is done by those who come into full communion; for which they are judged to be *fitted* by those who *examine* them, but are deterred from approaching it by *doubts* and *fears* of their own concerning their fitness for it; and that they are in fact prepared to bring up their chil-

(c) See Results of three Synods, pp. 50, 51, or Magnalia, Book 5, p. 64.
(d) In the records.
(e) Church Records, vol. 2, 14th and 26th January 1787.

dren in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, and are truly willing to submit themselves, and their children, when they come to maturity, to "the watch, discipline and government of the Church." [f]

The numbers recorded as having been received within the provisions of this arrangement, from time to time, are as follows. During the ministry of Mr. Thatcher, about nine years, 48; from the death of Mr. Thatcher to that of Mr. Willard, twenty nine years, 605; [g] the record of those received by Mr. Pemberton is not preserved; the number from the death of Mr. Pemberton to that of Dr. Sewall, forty two years, was 297; from the decease of Dr. Sewall to the settlement of Dr. Eckley, ten years, 5; during Dr. Eckley's ministry, nearly thirty two years, 52; from the death of Dr. Eckley to that of Mr. Huntington, nearly eight years, 6. In all, 1013. Since the decease of Mr. Huntington, that is for more than ten years past, there has been no instance of application for admission to this covenant.

5. In THE ADMISSION OF PERSONS TO FULL COMMUNION, there has always been required a previous examination; and a public profession of faith, and entering into covenant with God and the church; though this examination and profession have, at different times, been made on different principles and in different forms. For a series of years after the formation of the church, the scriptural principle was strictly adhered to, viz. satisfactory evidence of regeneration. Before the commencement of the last century, as stated in the morning, this vital principle was extensively abandoned by the New England churches; and the opinion received and practised upon, that "sanctification is not a necessary qualification to partaking of the Lord's Supper," and that "the Lord's Supper is a converting ordinance." This sentiment had more or less influence on the practice of this church from before 1740 till 1808; since which time the ancient and scriptural principle has been carefully applied. For several years after the formation of the church, persons applying for admission to full communion, having previously been carefully examined by the pastor and other officers of the church, gave, before the whole church, a verbal or written statement, as they should prefer, of their religious views and experience; after which they retired, and their application was considered and decided upon by the brethren; and, subsequently, the candidates, if admitted, took the covenant. In 1678, it was voted by the church, "that it shall be left to the discretion of the eldership, [h]

(f) The half-way-covenant is now discontinued, or formally abrogated, by all the evangelical Congregational churches of New-England.

(g) The reason why Mr. Willard received so many on the half-way-covenant doubtless was, that no other church in Boston but his practised upon it till about 1675, when Increase Mather, having concurred with the decisions of the Synod of 1662, published in their favor. The First Church did not, as already stated, begin to practice on this plan till 1730.

(h) That is, the pastor and ruling elder or ruling elders.

in case any that desire fellowship with the church, through scruple of conscience, shall be unwilling to consent that his relation shall be read before the church, apprehending it not to be according to rule to require it, and they shall otherwise judge him a person desirable for communion,—that the relation of such person or persons given to the elders, and by them attested to the church, shall be received as if it had been made before the church, provided that in other cases the common and constant practice shall be attended."[i] Still however a verbal or written relation continued to be given in before the whole church by the applicant himself till about the beginning of the last century; after which the number became greater and greater who chose to avail themselves of the liberty given by the vote just recited; and it became the common practice for the minister to give in the relation, which seems still, in most cases, to have been written by the candidate. In March 1769, a short confession of faith was adopted to be publicly assented to, instead of "a relation of experience," previous to admission and the taking of the covenant. (64) In Nov. of the same year, in consideration of the fact that the form of admission prescribed the preceding March did "not admit such persons as were seeking admission to full communion to give a voluntary profession of their faith in their own terms," it was determined "that such persons as might thereafter seek admission to full communion, should, previous to their admission, give to the church, orally or in writing, a profession of their repentance towards God and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, of their belief of the Scriptures, and of their resolution, by the grace of God, to walk according to them." At the same time was adopted the form of covenant now in use. After a time,—how long after does not appear,—it became the practice for the pastor to give in verbally the profession required by the vote last quoted, in behalf of the candidate for admission.—The method now practised is, for persons, after repeated conversations with the pastor respecting their evidences of regeneration and views of Christian doctrine and duty,—by which he has become satisfied that there is, from these sources, no valid objection to their admission,—to be examined by a Standing Committee of five members beside the minister. If their examination is satisfactory to the Committee, and if, upon inquiry, nothing is discovered unfavorable to their character, they are propounded, one fortnight before the church, and one fortnight more before the whole congregation. Then, if no valid objection has been made to their admission, they present themselves before the whole church, and the pastor gives a statement of the results of the several conversations had with them; and the

(i) Church records, vol. i, p. 6.

brethren, if satisfied, vote to receive them; and they, publicly and solemnly, take upon them God's holy covenant.

The numbers recorded as having been received, from time to time, to full communion, are as follows. From the formation of the church, including the founders, to the death of Mr. Thatcher, 217; from the decease of Mr. Thatcher to that of Mr. Willard, 406; from the death of Mr. Willard to that of Mr. Pemberton, 110; from the decease of Mr. Pemberton to that of Dr. Sewall, 730; from Dr. Sewall's death to the settlement of Dr. Eckley, 52; during Dr. Eckley's ministry, 185; from the death of Dr. Eckley to that of Mr. Huntington, 175; since the decease of Mr. Huntington, 432. In all, 2307.[k]—You are doubtless surprised at the smallness of the number. Only 2307 in one hundred and sixty one years! To this ought, undoubtedly, to be made some addition for obvious omissions in the record. But just allowance for these will not swell the number above 2500. If the causes of the smallness of this number are inquired for, there is no doubt that a prominent one has been the fact, already mentioned, that for a long period, the church and its pastors acted on the erroneous principle that evidence of regeneration is not a necessary qualification for church membership. It is a result, at first view surprising, but exceedingly instructive, and confirmed by abundant experience, that lowering the terms of communion always diminishes the number of applications, and strictness on this subject is uniformly found to multiply admissions. The lax principle had more or less influence on admissions to this church above ninety years.[l] During that period occurred the great revival of 1740, and another less powerful in 1755 and 6. Yet the admissions were only 915. It is now twenty two years since the ancient and scriptural principle has been fully restored. And the admissions, during this period have been 637. More than two thirds as many, in twenty two years, on the strict principle; as, on the lax principle, were received in ninety years! How manifest that if our only motive were to have a large and respectable church, we must adhere strictly to the terms of communion practised upon in the best days of our fathers, and prescribed in the word of God. (65)

6. Another feature of great importance in the history of this church is its HABITUAL ATTENTION TO DISCIPLINE. The watch and care, enjoined in the Scriptures and promised in its covenant, it has,—with different degrees of fidelity indeed, but without any entire interruption,—exercised over its members. The records furnish evidence of this under the ministry of every one of its pastors from the beginning. In 1746, a committee

(k) Giving an average of 14 and a fraction a year.
(l) Previously to Mr. Huntington's settlement in 1803.

of five was chosen, to co-operate with the pastors in this important and often difficult duty; which committee was renewed by annual appointment, for a series of years, probably till the dispersion of the church by the revolutionary war.[l] In 1828, this committee was revived, and rendered permanent, to consist of five members, including the deacons; to assist the pastor in attention to discipline and the examination of candidates for admission; and to be denominated "The Church Committee."[m]

7. Another fact claiming particular notice is, that this church and congregation have always considered themselves entitled TO KNOW DEFINITELY, AND HAVE TAKEN SUITABLE MEASURES TO ASCERTAIN, THE RELIGIOUS SENTIMENTS OF THOSE WHOM THEY CALLED TO BE THEIR MINISTERS. For this purpose, they have not only, in all cases, before giving a minister a call, heard him preach some time on probation,—expecting him, while doing so, to exhibit plainly and fully his doctrinal views; but they have required his express assent to the system of doctrine usually denominated evangelical. Were the records as full previous to the settlement of Mr. Prince, as they are since that period, evidence might, probably, be presented of the correctness of this statement in application to the settlement of all the ministers from the beginning. At least since the settlement of Mr. Cumming, the following has been the uniform practice in this particular. The pastor elect having signified his acceptance of the call, attends a meeting of the church, where his testimonials are exhibited, and he declares his consent to the "Confession of Faith owned and consented unto by the Elders and Messengers of the churches convened at Boston in 1680;" after which he is received a member of the church. These proceedings of the church are then reported to the society, and directed to be recorded in their minutes, as a necessary preliminary to their concurring with the church in arrangements for the ordination.

How necessary and wise are these precautions, will be at once realized by every one who duly considers how vitally the religious sentiments and character of a people depend on those of their ministers. A revival of sound doctrine and practice may emanate from the people; but corruptions in either always begin with, and are chiefly accomplished by, the ministry. Always, therefore, insist upon knowing, definitely and fully, the doctrinal sentiments of those whom you think of settling over you, and upon having satisfactory evidence of their real piety, and of their love and devotedness to the appropriate duties of their sacred office. It is your right; and it is the *very life* of the church, and of the society as a religious association. (66)

(m) See Church records, vol. i. p. 106, &c.
(n) See Church records, vol. iii. p. 77.

8. There is another fact, suggested by these last remarks, which historical fidelity will not permit me to pass unnoticed. It has been perceived, from the details already given in these discourses, that A GREAT CHANGE HAS TAKEN PLACE IN THE RELATIONS OF THIS CHURCH TO THE OTHER CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES IN THIS CITY FORMED BEFORE THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE PRESENT CENTURY. Formerly there was the closest union; evinced by a constant interchange of all the acts of ecclesiastical and ministerial communion. Eighteen or twenty years ago, this interchange began to be less frequent; and, for some time past, has entirely ceased. In 1819,—it having become common for Councils composed of representatives of those churches and others of similar views, to induct persons into the ministry without any examination in reference to doctrinal belief and personal religion, and the then pastor of this church having, while sitting on such councils, been repeatedly denied the privilege of putting questions, relating to the particulars just named, to candidates for ordination,—the church decided, on the 4th of April in that year, to accept no more invitations to such councils. [n] And no invitations have since been received. About two years before his death, Mr. Huntington made his last exchange with a minister of one of those congregations. And I have been assured from the best authority—his lamented widow,—that he had decided, never again, be the consequences what they might, to make another such exchange. And such another has never since been made.

This state of things,—we hope we shall be believed when we say, for we say it in the sincerity of our hearts,—we exceedingly regret. Is it asked, then, Whence the change? The facts that have been narrated in this sketch furnish the answer. The cause is not found in us; but in those who have become thus separated from us. We stand and walk in the *old* paths, in which our pious and venerated fathers trod; and which the experience of five generations in this church and society has demonstrated to be the *good* way; *they* have chosen to turn into a widely different path. We, I repeat, stand and walk in the old paths. We say it, not boastingly. Oh, no. We feel that we have been "kept" only "by the mighty power of God." And a voice from heaven sounds in our ear, "Let him that thinketh he standeth, take heed lest he fall." And we trust, we shall never be so unmindful of this divine admonition as, from a regard to the alleged obligations of courtesy, or expediency, or any other motive, to step into what we in our consciences be-

(o) See Church records, vol. iii. p. 4. There was an act of the church of similar import when the present pastor was ordained. Before, in every case, all the Congregational churches of Boston had been invited by this church to its ordaining Councils. In this instance it was determined to pursue a different course. After full deliberation and discussion, the church decided to adopt the different principle in selecting the Council mentioned in a note to the third sermon.

lieve to be a forbidden path. We judge no one, we condemn no one. We yield to all the right of deciding and acting for themselves, under their responsibility to God. And we claim for ourselves only the same privilege. And who can doubt for a moment that, could they now give their testimony, Thatcher, Willard, Pemberton, Prince, Sewall, Hunt, Eckley, Huntington, and the multitudes they were instrumental in fitting to worship God and the Lamb in heaven, would approve our course?

9. Another fact worthy of special notice is, that this church and congregation has, through its whole history, shewn itself to be A FRIEND OF REVIVALS OF RELIGION. It has been repeatedly favored with such seasons of special blessing, most of which have been already adverted to. The first, after the measures adopted in 1680, on the recommendation of "the Reforming Synod;" when the additions to the church in six months were nearly as many as they had been in the two preceding years. The next was after the earthquake in 1727; when, in eight months, about *eighty* were added to the communion. Then came the great revival of 1740, which added *more than an hundred* to the church. Again under the ministry of Prince and Sewall, in 1755, and 6, there was a special attention to religion; which, in three months, added *forty* to the communion. During Mr. Huntington's ministry there were continual accessions, frequently of five, eight, and ten persons at one time. And since, there have been two seasons of general attention; each of which, in less than two years, added *above an hundred* members. And not only has the church rejoiced in these signal blessings when conferred; she has also, from time to time, through the whole period of her history, made appropriate efforts to obtain them. In her records are repeatedly found such entries as the following, "Nov. 4, 1722, the church stayed, and voted that the 13th of this instant should be observed by us as a day of prayer, with fasting, to ask of God the effusion of his Holy Spirit, particularly on the rising generation." [p] "Aug. 4, 1734, the church was desired to stay, and voted that the 20th of this instant should (God willing) be observed by us as a day of prayer, with fasting, to humble ourselves before God for our unfruitfulness under the means of grace, and to ask the effusion of his Spirit to revive the power of godliness among us." Omitting other instances, and coming down to the ministry of Dr. Eckley, I find that, in Sept. 1795, the church voted to

(p) The occasion of this vote is mentioned by Mr. Prince, Christian History, ii, 375; and is thus stated by Dr. Sewall in his journal. "1722, Sept. 25. It having been agreed by ye Ministers to propose it to yr churches to keep days of fasting with prayer successively; this day a fast was kept at ye Old North, &c. N. B. The design is to ask of G. ye effusions of his Spirit, esply. on ye rising generation." "Oct. 13. This day a fast was kept at ye Old Church." "Nov. 13. This day was observed by ye South Church, as a day of fasting with prayer," &c.

"concur with other churches in this and other parts of the United States, in a quarterly concert of prayer, for the revival of religion, and the outpouring of God's Spirit, on the people of America, as well as other places of the world." [q] And in Jan. 1823, the church, at a full meeting, unanimously voted, to "observe a day of fasting and prayer, to humble themselves before God for their sins, to seek direction as to their duty in endeavoring to promote the work of God, and to supplicate the more plentiful effusions of his Holy Spirit." [r]

These are *emphatically* "the old paths;" for thus the primitive disciples were engaged while, in compliance with the Saviour's direction, they were waiting for the promise of the Spirit. And to feel deeply that this is "the good way,"—we need only to recal the conviction we had in the morning of the value and indispensableness of revivals of religion, and to be informed that, like the Christians who met in the upper chamber at Jerusalem, this church has found that such means faithfully used are never in vain.

10. I add that this church and congregation have HABITUALLY APPROVED AND AIDED THE ENTERPRISES OF BENEVOLENCE. The early records abound with votes like the following. The specimen I select is from the record of a meeting held a short time before it was finally determined to take down the first Meeting House, and erect this expensive building. "*Voted*, that *twenty pounds* be delivered to Deacon Henchman, for the purchasing of Bibles, to be distributed to the proper objects, as there shall be occasion; that *ten pounds* be distributed in other books, at the discretion of the trustees; that *twenty pounds* be given to Mr. Josiah Cotton, to encourage his settlement at Providence; that *fifteen pounds* be given to the Rev. Mr. Matthew Short of Easton, for his encouragement in the work of the ministry: that *fifteen pounds* be given to the Rev. Mr. James Hale of Ashford, for his encouragement in the work of the ministry; that *fifteen pounds* be given to the Rev. Mr. Nathaniel Prentice of Dunstable, for his encouragement in the work of the ministry, to be laid out in books as the trustees shall judge proper

(q) This was the Concert extensively observed, in Great Britain and in this country, for a series of years, in consequence of a proposal from a number of ministers in Scotland in 1744, for "United Extraordinary Prayer to God, that he would deliver the nations from their miseries, and fill the earth with his glory." The proposal was "that Christians universally should, for the two years then next ensuing, set apart a portion of time, on Saturday evening and Sabbath morning, every week, to be spent in prayer for this purpose; and that they should still more solemnly devote the first Tuesday in the last month of each quarter of the year, to be spent, either in private, social or public prayer to God, for the bestowment of those blessings on the world." The proposal was seconded by the publication, in 1746, of President Edwards' Humble Attempt to Promote Explicit Agreement and Visible Union among God's people in Extraordinary Prayer, &c. The measure was pursued by many churches for more than half a century, and only discontinued on the adoption of the more frequent Monthly Concerts, for the same purpose, first proposed by a Baptist association in England in 1784. See Dwight's Life of President Edwards, pp. 242—246.

(r) This solemnity was concluded by a renewal of covenant by the whole church. Seasons of special humiliation and prayer, for a similar purpose, have several times since been observed by the church.

upon discoursing with him." And about three months after, at a meeting at which several votes were passed in relation to funds to build the new Meeting House, I find the following, "Voted that *fifteen pounds* be given to Joseph Secombe, towards his support at the college."[s] And so I might read on to you, in relation to every year, almost down to the revolution.

Stated and liberal contributions to promote, in different ways, the spread of religion, are not, you perceive, so modern a device as is sometimes supposed. Here was a Bible Society, a Tract Society, a Missionary Society, an Education Society, more than an hundred years ago, all combined in one association; and that association was the Old South church and congregation. And in contemplating this interesting fact, you are, doubtless, presented with one principal reason of the remarkable preservation and almost uninterrupted prosperity of this church. She has from the beginning felt it to be a blessed privilege to water others; and God has, in faithfulness to his promise, poured out upon her the continual dew of his blessing. How resistless the argument in *this* respect also, to walk still in "the old paths?"

And now, brethren of this church and congregation, what shall be the influence of the review we have taken, upon our feelings and conduct?

Suffer me, *first*, to congratulate you upon the circumstances in which you have arrived at this interesting point in your history. This building has stood an hundred years. And, in the ordinary course of providence, it may stand an hundred more. How pleasing, and yet how solemn, the thought, that these walls, which now echo this voice, have resounded with the instructions and petitions and praises of generations whose lips have long been silent in death, and whose spirits are far advanced along the ages of eternity; and that here, our children and children's children shall sit, under the means which God has instituted and habitually blessed to prepare men for mansions in the skies. And this church still lives, the same in doctrine and discipline, that has fitted so many generations for the pure worship of heaven; and, we are permitted to hope, will still live, even till its members shall rejoice in the brightness of millennial glory. Of those in the midst of whom she anciently stood, built upon the faith which made our fathers such holy and wonderful men, she alone remains, on that foundation, firm and unmoved: and there we are permitted to hope she will remain,

(s) These and similar donations were the avails of collections on each fast and thanksgiving day, to be devoted to "pious uses, for the advancement of Christ's kingdom, and other proper objects of charity."

till all around shall be brought back to the obedience and sanctifying power of the same truth; to rejoice with her in the assurance, that the church is built on a rock, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. Here you are permitted, from Sabbath to Sabbath, to listen to the same Gospel which the learned Thatcher, the powerful Willard, the eloquent Pemberton, the excellent Sewall, dispensed to listening immortals. Here is shed down the same Spirit, who then made that truth effectual in the salvation of men. And here, we trust, will continue to be preached that same truth, with yet greater fidelity, and to be poured out that same Spirit, with yet greater frequency and power. From this spot has gone forth, for an hundred and sixty years, an influence, that has blessed surrounding multitudes, and diffused itself over the earth. And this influence, we are permitted to believe, is still to go forth, with increasing power, and sending back richer blessings, till the dominion of truth and holiness shall be established in every nation and in every heart. Oh, what exalted privileges! what distinguishing mercies!

And now is there in any breast the least rising of that feeling, which once led those similarly favored to say, "The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord are these?" Profane not thus, I beseech you, this sacred place. Tarnish not thus the mantle that has fallen upon us from our fathers, as, from this spot, they went up to heaven. Provoke not thus a righteous God to frown upon us, and take away his distinguishing mercies. Far, very far from us, I am sure, will be every such feeling, if we rightly consider our circumstances and relations. On my own mind, allow me to say, no impression has been so constant and deep, while I have been preparing and delivering these discourses, as that of our *immense*, our *awful responsibility*. To assemble, from week to week, on a spot where the Gospel has been preached in its purity to five successive generations; where the Holy Ghost has so often manifested his special and sanctifying presence; where have been seen by Him who looketh into the heart, so many sighs of penitence, so many actings of faith, so many breathings of pure devotion; where the Most High has had his rest for an hundred and sixty years; and hundreds and thousands of souls have been fitted to stand and worship before his throne:—Oh, how dreadful is this place! It is none other than the house of God. It is the gate of heaven.

And to have transmitted to us such a character,—of love for the truth, of zeal for the faith once delivered to the saints, of holy solicitude for the preservation of the institutions of Christ, of deep conviction of the necessity and blessedness of revivals of

religion, of prayerfulness and effort for the extension of the Redeemer's kingdom! To stand alone, of all the ancient churches around, on the first foundation, the only one of them all that is walking in the old paths; looked to by multitudes to see what is the influence of these Puritan principles, these antiquated opinions! To have been the objects of those fervent prayers that, for nearly two centuries, have gone up to heaven, for a continuous blessing, in successive generations, on this church and congregation! What solemnity of circumstances and relations! what awful responsibility!

Oh, minister, Christians, members of this religious society! remember where you stand; what relations you sustain; what responsibilities press upon you; what watching and expectation cluster around you, from the whole church, from the world, from glorified saints and holy angels, from the omniscient and righteous God. Be clothed with humility. Live—only to ask, Lord, what wilt thou have us to do? and cheerfully to execute his will. Preserve to this people, in coming generations, the pure, unadulterated truth of God, by which alone he renovates and sanctifies the soul. Guard with the utmost vigilance, every avenue to its corruption; resist the very beginning of every approach towards its perversion. Continue the ordinances of Christ sacred and inviolate. Strive, by every method, to bring up your children for God; that there may be a holy generation to assume your responsibilities when you go to give up your account. Remember that revivals of religion,—genuine, frequent revivals,—are the only hope of the church in this age. Prize them when granted to you. Seek them, earnestly, faithfully, continually. Live,—not to yourselves; but for the church of Christ, for the perishing world, for the glory of God.—And another century shall come; and find this church, with "the glory of the Lord resting upon her; fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners." Yes, we believe it: for our confidence is in our fathers' God; and their experience assures us that confidence shall never be reposed in vain.

Another century shall come! Where will then be the families and individuals that now compose this congregation? The crowd that thronged this House when first occupied for the worship of God;—where are they? The eight ministers that have since statedly preached within these walls; and the thousands who, in succession, have attended on their ministrations;—where are they? In the memory of some, now present, the occupants of nearly every one of these seats have changed. In the few years that I have served you in the Gospel, how many of this beloved people have I been called, by solemn prayer, to commit to the silent tomb!

In what quick succession are these survivors to follow them to the bar of God!

And yet, there are those here, unprepared to die; living in impenitence; trifling away the day of grace:—sitting here,—where the seeds of blessing have been scattered abundantly for an hundred and sixty years; where innumerable prayers have gone up to Jehovah's throne, and laid hold, in their behalf, on those assurances given in his word of his readiness to pour his blessing on all who will open their hearts to receive it;—where the Holy Spirit has so often come down like copious showers; where his blessed influence is now descending like drops that precede an abundance of rain! *Here*, are sitting dying immortals, impenitent, unmoved!

Oh, from this favored spot, to go unprepared to the bar of God! from this privileged, exalted place, to go down to eternal death! "My dearly beloved, and longed for, in the bowels of Jesus Christ;" my affectionate, dying people; be persuaded, one and all, immediately to escape that doom. Come, give your hearts to Christ; and go, with your pious and venerated fathers, to reign with him in heaven.

NOTES.

Note 1. Page 3.

An account of the origin, nature and causes of the difference between the old and new style may be seen in Dr. Rees' Cyclopedia, Article, *Style*, vol. 36, Part 1, or in the New Edinburgh Encyclopædia, Article, *Chronology*, No. 11, p. 252.

According to the old style, the year began on Annunciation or Lady-day, i. e. the 25th of March, which was, hence, called the *first* month, April the *second* month, July the *fifth* month, and September, October, &c., as their names indicate, the *seventh* month, the *eighth* month, &c. One alteration made by the new style was, changing the commencement of the year to the first of January. Another alteration was in the length of the year. The old style went upon the assumption that the solar year, or time of one revolution of the earth round the sun, is 365 days, 6 hours; whereas the real time is 365 days, 5 hours, 48′, 45½″. The old style, therefore, made the year too long by 11′, 14½″; which amounted to a whole day in 130 years. The old style was established by Julias Cæsar, 46 years before the Christian era. The new style was introduced, by a brief of Pope Gregory XIII, in 1582. The time as computed had then advanced *ten days* beyond the true time. It was therefore ordered that ten days should be stricken from the month of October in the year 1582, and the next day after the fourth of that month be called the fifteenth. These alterations were not adopted in England, and of course not in New England, till 1752; when the difference between the computed and the true time had increased to about *eleven* days. It was therefore ordered, by act of Parliament, that eleven days should be striken from the month of September in that year, and the *third* of that month be reckoned the *fourteenth*. All the civilized nations of Europe and America at present use the new style, except the Russians; in reducing whose dates to our own, we must now strike out twelve days. The rule commonly observed for reducing old style to new is this: if the date according to the old style is in the present century, carry it forward twelve days; if it is in the last or eighteenth century, carry it forward eleven days; if in the seventeenth century, carry it forward ten days, &c.

Note 2. Page 4.

That there was a *real* union between church and state is proved by the following facts. From almost the very beginning of the colony of Massachusetts, as is mentioned a sentence or two after in the sermon, no man could have any share in the administration of the civil government, or give

his voice in any election, unless he was a member of one of the churches.* No church could be gathered without the allowance of the magistrates, consisting of and elected by members of the churches; and a minister for preaching to such a society, was liable to a penalty. All persons subject to taxation, whether church members or not, except in the town of Boston, were compelled to contribute to the support of ministers chosen by the churches. Regulations were prescribed by the General Court in reference to the calling of ministers and the erection of places of worship, which must be conformed to under penalty of fine or imprisonment. When difficulties occurred in churches, the civil authority often interposed, in different forms, for their removal. All who were able, were required, under a penalty, to attend on the authorized public worship. No matters of great weight or moment, whether of a civil or religious nature, were determined without the advice of the ministers and a formal reference to them; they being generally present, in early times, in the courts. Synods were called by order of the General Court; and their results commended by legislative acts to the people, and ordered to be observed. The first laws deprived excommunicated persons, and a whole church if separated from the rest, of all civil privileges. In 1638, a law was made that if any person stood excommunicated six months, he should be liable to fine, imprisonment or banishment, as the Court of Assistants should determine; but it was repealed the next year.— Here surely was a *real* union between church and state, a *real* establishment of the Congregational churches.

Yet there was, as I have said, a *radical difference* in the *form* of the connexion between the state and the churches here, and between the church and state in the mother country. Here there were many churches, nearly independent of each other; there the church was one body. Here the churches elected their own pastors; there ministers were imposed by the civil government or by patrons. Here the civil government never assumed or exercised the power of deciding on matters of doctrine and discipline, but always called together representatives of the churches freely chosen to determine such matters; there they were determined and established ultimately by the civil power. Here if the proceedings of the magistrates were supposed to bear hard on the liberties of the churches, they could be, and sometimes were, displaced at the next annual election; there there was, in such cases, no redress. In contemplating these points of difference, the reflecting reader will have discerned the elements of the wise provisions, in regard to the relations of church and state, subsequently adopted and now existing in this country.†

The deference paid to the clergy, and their influence in civil as well as religious affairs, for some time after the establishment of the colonies, will not be censured or accounted strange by those who will duly consider the following circumstances mentioned by Dr. Trumbull, in his history of Connecticut, when accounting for these facts. Having remarked that "the most perfect harmony subsisted between the legislature and the clergy, like Moses and Aaron, they walked together in the most endearing friendship;" he proceeds thus, "The governors, magistrates and leading men were their spiritual children, and esteemed and venerated them as their fathers in Christ. As they had loved and followed them into the wilderness, they zealously supported their influence. The clergy had the highest veneration for them, and spared no pains to maintain their authority and government. Thus they grew in each other's esteem and brotherly affection, and mutually supported and increased each other's influence and usefulness. Many of the clergy who first came into the country had good estates, and assisted their poor brethren and parishioners, in their straits, in making new settlements. The

* And yet many who were church members, and might have been made freemen at any time, declined taking the freemen's oath, giving as a reason their unwillingness to serve in any civil office. This, I am informed, is expressly mentioned in the records of the General Court.

† Those who wish to inquire further into the nature and influence of the connexion early subsisting between the churches and the state in the New England colonies, may consult Winthrop's Journal, Morton's New England Memorial, Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, Trumbull's History of Connecticut.

people were then far more dependant on their ministers than they have been since. The proportion of learned men was much less then than at the present time. The clergy possessed a very great proportion of the literature of the colony. They were the principal instructors of the young gentlemen who were liberally educated, before they commenced members of college, and they assisted them in their studies afterwards. They instructed and furnished others for public usefulness, who had not a public education. They had given a striking evidence of their integrity and self-denial, in emigrating into this rough and distant country, for the sake of religion, and were faithful and abundant in their labors. By their example, counsels, exhortations, and money, they assisted and encouraged the people. Besides, the people who came into the country with them, had a high relish for the word and ordinances. They were exiles and fellow sufferers in a strange land. All these circumstances combined to give them an uncommon influence over their hearers, of all ranks and characters." History of Connecticut, i, 28, New Haven, 1818.

Instead of blaming our fathers for establishing such a connexion as they did between church and state, we have cause to wonder that they established so much of a distinction. *No instance of a nation without an established religion, of a complete separation between church and state, had ever yet existed.* Our fathers, moreover, as a body, came to this wilderness solely to obtain the unmolested enjoyment and exercise of what they considered Christian privileges and duties. With this object in view they had purchased the country, and procured a charter, and made so many sacrifices. In the mother country all their sufferings had proceeded from the tyrannizing of the civil power over the church. How natural for them to resolve when they came here, to keep the civil power subordinate to the churches, an instrument of promoting their prosperity? And how natural, with this view, and to render the accomplishment of their object sure, to say to others who should come here with different views and practices, 'The country is wide enough, go and seek a residence for yourselves and your principles elsewhere?'* The candid and judicious, who are acquainted with the history of our fathers and of the times in which they lived, will never be found censuring and condemning, much less railing at them, on account of their errors; they will wonder at the profound wisdom, the extent and correctness of views, the nobleness and disinterestedness of principle, at such a time and in such circumstances, displayed by those wonderful men,—to whom, and to those of a kindred spirit in Great Britain, the world is indebted, under God, for all the civil and religious liberty now existing among the nations.

Let us be careful, however, to secure, and diffuse, and transmit to posterity the instructive lesson furnished by the result of their experiment. It was an experiment of the influence of a union between church and state made in circumstances the most favorable for the church, that have ever yet existed. The churches of Massachusetts were all originally uncorrupt and scriptural in doctrine and discipline, and composed of eminently pious men, who lived, and were ever ready to sacrifice every thing, for the kingdom of Christ, and whose wisdom has been the admiration of the candid of all succeeding generations. These wise and holy men established all our early civil and ecclesiastical institutions, with the express design of making every thing contribute to the preservation and purity and extended influence of the churches. And now, in less than two hundred years, what is the result? Not only has a flood of error come in, and desolated the portion of their heritage which our pious fathers cultivated with the greatest care, and made the college which they devoutly consecrated 'to Christ and his

* Cotton Mather says, when speaking of the proceedings against the Quakers in 1656—60, (Magnalia, Book 7, p. 24,) "It was also thought that the very Quakers themselves would say, that if they had got into a corner of the world, and, with an immense toil and charge, made a wilderness habitable, on purpose there to be undisturbed in the exercises of their worship, they would never bear to have the New-Englanders come among them, and interrupt their public worship, and endeavor to seduce their children from it, yea, and repeat such endeavors after mild entreaties first, and then just banishments, to oblige their departure."

Church,' the principal instrument of maintaining and diffusing that error; but the churches themselves have been declared, by judicial decisions having all the force of law, to have no legal rights or existence independent of the civil corporations—the towns or parishes, with which they are connected. "The only circumstance," say these decisions, "which gives a church any legal character, *is its connexion with some regularly constituted society.*" "A church *cannot subsist* without some religious community to which it is attached." "As to all civil purposes, the secession of a whole church from a parish, would be an extinction of the church; and it is competent to *the members of the parish* to institute a new church, or to engraft one upon the old stock, if any of it should remain; and *this new church would succeed to all the rights of the old* in relation to the parish." Mass. Term Reports, xvi, 504.—Such is the result of a union between church and state, in circumstances the most favorable for the church that have ever yet existed! When will the professed followers of Christ learn the full import of that declaration, "My kingdom is not of this world?" When will the churches of Christ learn to rely *only* on themselves and their King? Then, and not till then, will he accomplish for them all that he hath promised.

Note 3. Page 4.

It has indeed been assumed by high authority, and most important results made to turn on the assumption, that, at first, all or nearly all the inhabitants were church members. "There was no familiar distinction, at that time, between the church and the whole assembly of Christians in the town." "The presumption is, that almost, if not quite, all the adult inhabitants were church members." "For several years after our ancestors came here, there appeared to be little practical distinction between church and congregation." "Before 1641, without doubt, the whole assembly were considered the church." Mass. Term Reports, xvi, 498, 514. But never was a material statement made more directly in the face of evidence. Hutchinson says in his History, i. 25, 26, "The first General Court was held the 19th of October; not by a representative, but by every one that was free of the corporation in person. None had been admitted freemen since they left England." "One hundred and nine freemen were admitted at this Court. Maverich, Blackstone, and *many more who were not of any of the churches, were of the number.*" There were then *many* who came over with those who were free of the corporation before they left England, who were not church members. On the page last referred to, is the following note. "None may be a freeman of that company unless he be a church member among them. None have voice in elections of governor, deputy and assistants, none are to be magistrates, officers, or jurymen grand or petit, but freemen. The ministers give their votes in all elections of magistrates. *Now the most of the persons at New England are not admitted of their church*, and therefore are not freemen; and when they come to be tried there, be it for life or limb, name or estate, or whatsoever, they must be tried, and judged too, by those of the church, who are in a sort their adversaries. How equal that hath been or may be, some by experience do know, others may judge. *Leechford.*" This testimony is no doubt to be received with some allowance, as it is from one who suffered under and complained bitterly, of the regulations which he describes. See Hutch. i. 451. Yet when due allowance has been made, it proves that there were, from the beginning, many who were not church members. In 1646, sixteen years after the commencement of the Massachusetts colony, the number of those not connected with the churches in Plymouth and Massachusetts was so great, that they petitioned the General Courts of both colonies, and prepared petitions to the British Parliament, praying, as they say, in behalf of "*thousands*," that the disabilities under which they labored might be removed. See Hutch. i. 145—149.

Note 4. Page 5.

The dispute as carried on in Connecticut is thus stated by Trumbull. "Meanwhile there was a strong party in the colony at Connecticut, who

were for admitting all persons of a regular life to a full communion in the churches, upon their making a profession of the Christian religion, without any inquiry with respect to a change of heart; and for treating all baptized persons as members of the church. Some carried the affair still farther, and insisted that all persons who had been members of churches in England, or had been members of regular ecclesiastical parishes there, and supported the public worship, should be allowed to enjoy the privileges of members in full communion in the churches of Connecticut. They also insisted, that all baptized persons, upon owning the covenant, as it was called, should have their children baptized, though they came not to the Lord's table." i, 297, 298. And a little after he says: There were now "many" of the "children" of the first settlers, and "others who had since emigrated into this country," who "had made no open profession of religion, and their children were not baptized. This created uneasiness in them, in their ministers, and others. *They wished for the honors and privileges of church members* for themselves, and baptism for their children; but they were not persuaded that they were regenerated, and knew not how to comply with the rigid terms of the Congregational churches," pp. 298, 299. Hubbard in his manuscript history of Massachusetts, referring to 1656, says, "Baptism unto this time had been administered unto those children *only*, whose immediate parents were admitted into full communion in the churches where they lived: but now the country came to be increased, and sundry families were found, that had children born in them, whose immediate parents had never attempted to join to any of the churches to which they belonged, and yet were very much unsatisfied that they could not obtain baptism for their children: the cause occasioned many debates between the ministers of the country." In the progress of the dispute, baptism and the alledged spiritual relations and advantage of children came, as was natural, to be the topics most spoken of. But every one who attentively examines the subject will be convinced that the dispute was originated, and in its whole progress greatly influenced, by what Trumbull describes as a "wish for *the honors and privileges* of church-members."

Note 5. Page 6.

Their determination on this subject was expressed in the following terms, "That it is the duty of infants who confederate in their parents, when grown up unto years of discretion, though not yet fit for the Lord's Supper, to own the covenant they made with their parents, by entering thereinto in their own persons: and it is the duty of the church to call upon them for the performance thereof; and if, being called upon, they shall refuse the performance of this great duty, or otherwise continue scandalous, they are liable to be censured for the same by the church. And in case they understand the grounds of religion, and are not scandalous, and solemnly own the covenant in their own persons, wherein they give up both themselves and their children unto the Lord, and desire baptism for them, we see not sufficient cause to deny baptism unto their children." Magnalia, Book 5, p. 63.

Note 6. Page 6.

It was "1. They that according to Scripture, are members of the visible church, are the subjects of baptism. 2. The members of the visible church, according to Scripture are confederate visible believers in particular churches, and their infant seed, i. e. children in minority, whose next parents, one or both, are in covenant. 3. The infant seed of confederate visible believers are members of the same church with their parents, and, when grown up, are personally under the watch, discipline and government of that church. 4. These adult persons are not therefore to be admitted to full communion, merely because they are and continue members, without such further qualifications as the word of God requireth thereunto. 5. Church-members who were admitted in minority, understanding the doctrine of faith, and publicly professing their assent thereto, not scandalous in life, and solemnly owning the covenant before the church, wherein

they give up themselves and their children to the Lord, and subject themselves to the government of Christ in the church, their children are to be baptized." And two other articles relating, to children whose parents deceased without offering them in baptism, and to the children of members of one church being baptized in another. Magnalia, Book 5, p. 64. The same year, 1662, that these ecclesiastical proceedings took place, one effect of which must have been greatly to extend the privilege of becoming freemen, a letter from king Charles II, required that "all the laws" of the colony "should be reviewed, and such alterations made that, among other things, all freeholders of competent estates, not vicious &c. though of different persuasions concerning church government, should have their votes in the election of all officers civil and military." This requisition was not then complied with. In 1664, arrived commissioners from the King, "for visiting the colonies in New England, hearing and determining all matters of complaint, and settling the peace and security of the country." These commissioners demanded immediate attention to the king's letter of 1662: and the General Court accordingly, in August 1664, "repealed the law relating to the admission of freemen and instead of it provided another, that allowed English subjects being freeholders ratable to a certain value, certified by the minister of the place to be orthodox and not vicious in their lives, to be made freemen although not members of the church. Hutchinson, i, 222, 231.

Note 7. Page 7.

Cotton Mather says, (Magnalia, Book 5, p. 82,) that upon the first church applying to Mr. Davenport, "thirty brethren of that eminent church offered several reasons of their dissent from their call to that worthy person; whereof one was in these terms, "We should walk contrary to Rev. iii, 3., not holding fast what we have received: nor should we, as we have received Christ Jesus the Lord, so walk in him. [The doctrine of the Synod] it having been a received and professed truth, by the body of the church who have voted it in the affirmative, and that, after much patience with and candor towards those that were otherwise minded; divers days having been spent about this great *generation truth*, which since hath been confirmed by the Synod. Full liberty hath also been granted unto those who scrupled to propose their questions: and they were answered with such public satisfaction that those few who remained unsatisfied, promised to sit down and leave the body to act, excepting one or two. Accordingly there was an entrance upon the work: but the Lord lay it not to the charge of those that hindered progress therein, which, with great blessing and success, has been and is practiced in neighbor churches."

Note 8. Page 7.

It is not known that any complete copies of the letters that passed between the church in Boston and that in New Haven are now in existence. A second letter, it seems, was sent, soon after the answer was received to the first, from the church in Boston to the church in New Haven, and an answer returned. Again, Aug. 1669, it appears from the Records of the First Church, p. 31, that the Boston church voted to send a messenger to New Haven to endeavor to prevail on the church there to "declare their owning of the letter sent from them to this church to be a true dismission of Mr. Davenport." The messenger, it seems, took with him a third letter from the church in Boston to that in New Haven. Among the papers of the Old South Church I have found two leaves, paged 148, 149, 154, 155, of some manuscript volume, on which is written what appears to be parts of the reply of the church in New Haven to this third letter from the church in Boston. On the top of the last page is written "D. Dismission." A portion of it purports to be a quotation of the most material part of the first letter from the church in New Haven. It is as follows.—"yet the church of New Haven is not soe; and though you judg it the last expedient for yor reliefe, and remidy of some evils growing in ye country, as also we might doe the same, if we had nothing before or eyes but his accomplishments and ffittness for high service to God in his church; but, being

soe much in the darke about his way in leaving this church and joyning to yor's, that we are not without doubts and feares of some uncomfortable issue, therefore cannot clearly acte in such a way as is expected and desired. Wee are of the same mind as when we returned an answr to yor ffirst letter, thus expressing orselves, We see noe cause nor call of God to resigne or reverend pastor to ye church of Boston, by an immediate acte of or's, therefore not by a formall dismission under or hands. It is or great griefe and sore affliction, that we cannot doe for him (whome we soe highly esteme in love for his work's sake and profitable labrs among us) what is desired, without wronge to or consciences. Any thing that we have or are beside or consciences, we are ready to lay downe at his ffeet: yet, *such is or honorable respect to him, or love to peace, or desire of yor supply, that we shall goe as far as we safely can in order to his and yor satisfacttion in this matter,** having before us for or warrent, Acts xxi, 14. When he would not be persuaded, we ceased, saying, The will of the Lord be done. Theirfore to suppress what we could say touching yt passage in or ffirst letter, whereof such hold hath been taken, and what we have sayd in or last letter to you of or revrd pastor's making null the liberty before granted, which we doubt not we are able clearly to demonstrate, yet, *if this will sattisfie*, (but not otherwise,) *we are content* to wave and bury in silence, *and leave both yorselves and him to make what improvemt you see cause (without any clog or impediment from us upon that account) of the liberty before mentioned.*" [Here four pages are wanting. The remainder is as follows.] "to membership and taking office in yor church as he hath been a faithfull laborer in God's vinyard at New Haven for many yeares, to the bringing home of many soules to God, and building up of many others, soe it is and shall be or prayer to God to lengthen his life and tranquility in Boston, to duble his Spirit upon him, assist him in his worke, and make him a blessed instrument of much good to yorselves and many others. The good Lord pardon, on all hands, what he hath seene amisse in these actings and motions, that no sinfull malignancy may obstruct or hinder God's blessing upon churches or church administrations. As himselfe and his sone have desired, we doe dismiss unto yor holy ffelloship Mr. John Davenport Junir, and Mrs. Davenport elder and younger, desiring you to receive them in the Lord as becumeth saintes, and imploring almighty God for his blessing upon them from his holly ordinances in their comunion and walking with you. The God of all grace supply all yor and or need, according to his riches in glory through Jesus Christ. Thus craving yor prayrs for us in or afflicted condition, we take or leave, and rest yors in the ffelloship of the Gosple.

Nicholas Street, in the name and with the consent of the church of Christ at New Haven.

12, 8°. 68. *To the reverend elder of the Church of Boston, Mr. James Penn, to be communicated to ye church.*"

Then follows, on the bottom of the page, these notes in another hand,— "The Elder labouring to convince, 24, 4, 69, Mr. James Allen [minister of the First Church] of his iniquity of dealing deceitfully about the letter from N. Haven, and in saying Mr. Davenport was innocent in that matter, he acknowledg yt Mr. D. knew the matter as much as he and his unckle, and yt he had sinned in saying Mr. D. * * * * *

Note 9. Page 8.

The date of their application for a dismission is not preserved. It was doubtless not long before the proceedings described in the following extracts from the records of the First Church, p. 31. "Edward Rainsford and Jacob Eliot was dismissed from thr. office of deacons, for setting there hands, with other brethren, to desire there dismission from the church, because the church had chosen Mr. Davenport for there pastor on the 12. of the 12 mo. 1668." "At a meeting called on ye 29 of the 1 mo. 1669, about ye dissenting brethren: judgt. whether the church see light from ye word of God to dismiss ye dissenting brethren yt. desire it; it was answered in the negative, unanimously."

* The parts printed in Italics are underscored in the the manuscript from which I copy.

NOTE 10. PAGE 8.

The First Baptist Church was also formed at Charlestown, May 28, 1665; probably, in both cases, because in another county, to avoid the penalty of the law then existing, which forbade the formation of a church without the sanction of the magistrates.

The covenant adopted by "the Third Church," and recorded in the first volume of the church records, p. 1, is as follows.

"The Covenant made by ye Third Church" in Boston, Gathred at Charles town on 12 day of 3d month, 1669.

We whose names are underwritten, being called of God to joine together into a church, in heart-sense of our unworthinesse thereof, disability thereunto, and aptnes to forsake ye Lord, cast off his govermnt, and neglect our duety one to another; DO, in the name of J. C. our Lord, trusting only in his grace and help, sollemnly bind ourselves together as in the presence of God, constantly to walk together as a church of Christ, according to all those holy rules of God's word given to a church body rightly established, so far as we already know them, or they shall be hereafter farther made known unto us. And particularly,—We do, first of all, accord. to the tenor of the everlasting covenant, give up ourselves and our offspring unto God, our chief yea only good; unto our Lord J. C. as the onely mediator, our onely sptl. head and Lord, recieving and relying on him, not only as our high priest for satisfaction and intercession, but also as our prophet to teach, and our King to reigne over us; and unto the Holy Spirit, to be a temple to him, that by his dwelling and working in us we may have, and be established in fellowship with God in Christ one with another.—And for the furth. of this blessed fellowship, we do likewise promise to indeavr. to establish among ourselves, and conveigh down to our posterity, all the holy truths and ordinances of the gospell committed to the churches in faith and observance, opposing to the utmost of our church power whatsoever is diverse therefrom or contrary thereunto.—Also we do give up ourselves to one another in the Lord and by the will of God; hereby promising to cleave one to another as fellow members of the same body, in brotherly love and holy watchfulnesse, unto mutuall edification in Christ Jesus, and to be subject in and for the Ld., to all the administrations and censures of the congregation* so far as the same shall be ordered according to the rules of God's most holy word.—And finally, we do hereby covenant and promise, through the help of the same grace, to hold, promote and maintein fellowp. and communion with all the churches of saints, in all those holy ways of order appointed between th`em by our Lord Jesus, to the utmost, especially with those among whome the Lord hath set us; that the Lord may be one, and his name one, in all these churches throughout all generations, to his eternall glory in Christ Jesus.—And now the good Lord be mercifull unto us, Pardoning, according to the greatness of his grace, as all our past sins, so especially our church sins in negligence and unfaithfulnesse of former injoyments, and accept, as a sweet savor in Christ Jesus, this our offering up of ourselves unto him in this work; filling this his house with his own glory, making us faithful to himself and one unto another, according to himself, for his holy name's sake, Amen."—This is the only form of covenant found in the records of the church till March 2, 1769.

The names of the founders of the church are thus entered in the book of "Admissions."

"The brethren which came off from the first church in Boston N. E., and laid the foundation of the Third Church, ptly on May 12, 1669, partly on May 16, 1669, were these underwritten,

Capt. Wm. Davis, Mr. Hezekiah Usher, Mr. John Hull, Mr. Edward Raynsford, afterwards Ruling Elder, Mr. Peter Bracket, afterwards deacon, Mr. Jacob Eliot, afterwards deacon, Mr. Peter Oliver, Mr. Tho. Brattle, Mr. Edward Rawson, Mr. Joshua Scottoe, Mr. Benjamin Gibbs, Mr. Tho. Savage, Mr. Joseph Rocke, Mr. Theodore Atkinson, Mr. Jno. Wing, Mr. Richard Trewsdale, Mr. Theoph. Frarye, afterwards deacon, Robert Walker, Jno. Aldin, Benjamin Thurston, Wm. Salter, Jno. Morsse, Josiah Belcher, Seth

* There was then no organized body styled the congregation as now, and this term was often applied to the church. Winthrop constantly applied it thus in his Journal.

Perry, James Pemberton, Wm. Dawes, Joseph Davis, Mr. Tho. Thatcher, afterwards pastor, Joseph Belknap, dismissed to Hatfield."

The majority, it will be observed, have a Mr. prefixed to their names, and several are recorded without this title. This had a meaning at the time the record was made, which will be perceived from the following extracts from Winthrop's Journal, i, 61. "1631. Aug. 27. At a court, one Josias Plaistowe and two of his servants were censured for stealing corn from Chickatabot and his men, (who were present,) the master to restore twofold, and *to be degraded from the title of a gentleman*, and fined five pounds, and his men to be whipped." The records of the Court give the sentence thus, "It is ordered that Josias Plaistowe shall, (for stealing four baskets of corn from the Indians,) return them eight baskets again, be fined £5, and *hereafter to be called by the name of Josias, and not Mr. as formerly he used to be;* and that William Buckland and Thomas Andrew shall be whipped for being accessary to the same offence." The precise points of distinction between "a gentleman" or a "Mr." and others not entitled to that honor, in the early days of New-England, cannot, perhaps, be now fully ascertained. A person of extensive and accurate information on these subjects informs me, that it appears from the records, journals, &c. that have come down to us, that the title of *Mr.* was given, to those who had taken a second degree at college,* to all magistrates, to all who were or had been military officers of a grade as high as captain, to those on whose coat of arms was inscribed 'generosus,' to merchants of standing, and perhaps some others. The wives and unmarried daughters of gentlemen were called Mrs.

Hutchinson (vol. i, p. 260,) says, Mr. Davenport was settled at Boston, "against the mind of many of *the principal persons* of the church in Boston, which caused them, some time after, to separate from their brethren and to form a new society." I have found notices, of nearly all these persons in Farmer's Genealogical Register; which, for the gratification of the reader, will be here inserted. *William Davis*, "Boston, freeman, 1645,† member of the artil. comp. 1643,‡ its captain from 1664 to 1672; was commander of a company of troop in Ninegret's war; represented Springfield in 1652, and perhaps Haverhill in 1668."—*Hezekiah Usher*, "Cambridge, freeman 1639, removed to Boston about 1646, was a member of the artil. co. 1638, representative for Billerica 1671, 1672 and 1673, and died in May 1676."—*John Hull*, "Boston, grandson of Robert Hull,§ was probably admitted freeman 1649, member of the artil. co. 1660, its captain 1678, treasurer of Massachusetts 1676, assistant from 1680 to 1683. He died 29 Sept. 1683, leaving an only child Hannah, born 14 Feb. 1658, who married Judge Samuel Sewall. He left a large estate."—*Edward Raynsford*, "Boston, brother of Lord Chief Justice Raynsford, was admitted freeman 1637, and was an elder of the church."—*Peter Brackett*, "Braintree, freeman 1643, representative 1644—1646, 1653, 1660—1662, 7 years; representative for Scarborough 1673 and 1674." [This is the only Peter Bracket mentioned in the Register. Whether he was the same with the person of that name among the founders of the Third Church, I cannot determine. He may have resided in Boston in 1669, when the church was formed.]—*Jacob Eliot*, "Boston, brother to Rev. John Eliot [first minister of Roxbury and "the Indian apostle"] freemen 1632, was an elder [deacon] of the church."—*Peter Oliver* "son of Elder Thomas,‖ was an eminent merchant in Boston, freeman 1640, member of the artil. co. 1643, its captain in 1669, died in 1670."—*Thomas Brattle*, "Boston 1657; was probably made freeman 1657, member of the artil. co. 1672, representative 1671 and 1672 for Lancaster, 1678 and 1679 for Concord." *Edward Rawson*, "born in Gillingham, in Dorset-

* *Sir* was the title of bachelors of arts.

† To become a freeman, application must be made to the General Court, accompanied with the minister's certificate of good standing in the church, and, permission being given by the Court, the freeman's oath must be taken before a magistrate.

‡ The Artilery company at its incorporation in 1638 was composed of "divers gentlemen and others," and was in early times joined by most of the principal citizens.

§ Robert Hull, Boston, blacksmith, was admitted freeman 1637, and died 28 July 1663, æ 73."

‖ Thomas Oliver, "came to N. E. 1631, freeman 1632; was an elder of the church in Boston, and a worthy and useful man, and died in 1657."

shire, about 1615; came to N. E. as early as 1637, and settled in Newbury, where he was town clerk and representative in 1638 and eight years afterwards, having been admitted freeman in 1637. He went to Boston about 1650, and was Secretary of the Massachusetts colony from 1650 to 1686"; [he died in the winter of 1693, 4.] *Joshua Scottoe*, "Boston, freeman 1639, member of artil. co. 1645, its ensign in 1657, a captain, and the author of two tracts published in Boston in 1691 and 1694. He died in 1698." *Benjamin Gibbs*, "Boston, was admitted to the First Church 13 July 1662, a member of the artil. co. 1666." *Thomas Savage*, "Boston, second son of Thomas Savage*, was born 28 May 1640, became member of the artil. co. in 1665, was an officer in Sir William Phipp's expedition to Canada 1691, and a lieutenant colonel of the Suffolk regiment. He died 2 July, 1705, æ 65." *Joseph Rocke*, "Boston, freemen 1652." *Theodore Atkinson*, "came from Bury, in Lancashire, about 1634, and settled at Boston; became a member of the artil. co. 1644; and died in August 1701, æ 90." *John Wing*, [of him I have found no account.] *Richard Trewsdale*, "Truesdale, freeman 1635, perhaps brother-in-law to Gov. Winthrop." *Theophilus Frarye*, "Boston 1657, member of the artil. co. 1666, captain of the same 1682, representative 1689, died 17 Oct. 1700." *Robert Walker*, "Boston, freeman 1634, was living 10 June 1684, at the age of 78." *John Aldin*, "son of John Aldin†, went from Duxbury to Boston as early as 1659, and died 14 March 1702." *Benjamin Thurston*, "born 1640, freeman 1665." *William Salter*, "Boston, admitted a member of the church 1635, freeman 1636." *John Morsse*, "Dedham, one of the early settlers, had sons, John, born 1639," and two others. [It was probably the son who was one of the founders of the Third Church.] *Josiah Belcher*, [Several Belchers are mentioned in the Register, but none named Josiah.] *Seth Perry*, son of Arthur Perry‡, born 1639, admitted member of the artil. co. 1662." *James Pemberton*, "came over as early as 1630, and requested to be made freeman 19 Oct. that year." [He carried on a brewery in Queen, now Court, street.] *William Dawes*, "Boston, freeman 1646; died 24 March 1703, æ 86." *Joseph Davis*, [of him I have found no account.] *Thomas Thatcher*, [of him an account will be given in the sermon, as one of the pastors of the church.] *Joseph Belknap*, "Boston, probably a son of Abraham Belknap of Lynn and Salem; he was a member of the artil. co. 1658, and was admitted freeman in 1669."

Note 11. Page 11.

At the time of the formation of the Third Church, the First Church (which was formed July 30, 1630) worshipped in a building of wood, which stood on the spot now occupied by "Joy's Building" in Cornhill Square, and which was then called "the Old Meeting House;" and the Second Church (which was formed June 5, 1650) worshipped in a wooden building that stood on North Square, and was called "the North Meeting House." This was their second building, their first having been destroyed by fire a few years after it was built. The first Meeting House of the First Church was erected in 1632, on the south side of State street, not far from the spot on which the Exchange Coffee House now stands. "Its roof was thatched, and its walls were of mud." Their second edifice was erected in 1639, on Cornhill Square. This building was burnt in "the great fire" of 1711. Soon after, another edifice, of brick, was erected on the same spot. This was called "the Brick Meeting House," till 1721, when a new church was formed in the north part of the city, which

* Who "came to N. E., to Boston, as early as 1635, was admitted freeman 1636, member of the artil. co. 1637, and its captain 1651. He represented Boston in 1654 and eight succeeding years, Hingham in 1663, Andover in 1671, 1677 and 1678, and was speaker of the house in 1659 and 1671. He was a major, and at one time was commander in chief of the forces in the early part of Philip's war, 1675; was elected assistant in 1680 and 1681; and died 14 Feb. 1682, æ 75."

† Who was "one of the first pilgrims of Plymouth 1620, and one of the first settlers of Duxbury 1640, was representative 1641 to 1649; an assistant of Plymouth colony from 1633 to 1639, excepting 1637, and from 1651 to 1686, excepting 1653, in all 42 years. He died 12 Sept. 1687, æ 89."

‡ "Arthur Perry, Boston, freeman 1640, was the town drummer, member of the artil. co. 1638, and died 9 Oct 1652."

erected a Meeting House also of brick, the one in which the Rev. Mr. Emerson now preaches, which was called "the New Brick;" after which the Meeting House of the First Church was called "the Old Brick," till it was taken down in 1808, and the church removed to the building they now occupy in Chauncey Place. In 1712 a number of persons were dismissed from the Second Church, and formed into a new church in the north part of the town. Their first Meeting House was dedicated May 5, 1714, and took the name of "the New North," after which the Meeting House of the Second Church was called "the Old North," till its demolition in 1775. After the revolution, this church, of which the late Dr. Lathrop was the pastor, was united with the New Brick church, retaining the name of the Second Church, and ever since occupying the New Brick Meeting House.

Note 12. Page 11.

"Most of the churches" of New England, "not all," for some time after the settlement of the country, "had," besides a pastor, or a pastor and a teacher, and two or more deacons, "one or more ruling elder;"* whose "business," says Cotton Mather in his Ratio Disciplinæ, "it was to assist the pastor in visiting the distressed, instructing the ignorant, reducing the erroneous, comforting the afflicted, rebuking the unruly, discovering the state of the whole flock, exercising the discipline of the Gospel upon offenders, and promoting the desirable growth of the church." Hutchinson's account of the duties of this officer is as follows: "In matters of offence, the ruling elder after the hearing, asked the church if they were satisfied; if they were not, he left it to the pastor or teacher to denounce the sentence of excommunication, suspension or admonition, according as the church had determined. Matters of offence, regularly, were first brought to the ruling elder in private, and might not otherwise be told to the church. It was the practice for the ruling elders to give public notice of such persons as desired to enter into church fellowship with them, and of the time proposed for admitting them, if no sufficient objection was offered, and when the time came, to require all persons who knew any just grounds of objection to signify them. Objections were frequently made, and until they were heard and determined, the ruling elder seems to have moderated in the church, but the church's consent to the admission was asked by the pastor or teacher, who also rehearsed and proposed the church-covenant, and declared them members. When a minister preached to any other than his own church, the ruling elder of the church, after the psalm sung, said publicly, 'If this present brother hath any word of exhortation for the people at this time, in the name of God let him say on.' The ruling-elder always read the psalm. When the member of one church desired to receive the sacrament at another, he came to the ruling-elder, who proposed his name to the church for their consent. At the communion they sat with the minister. I find nothing further relating to this officer in their public assemblies. They were considered without doors, as men for advice and counsel in religious matters; they visited the sick, and had a general inspection and oversight of the conduct of their brethren." Ruling elders were always ordained, sometimes by a small council of neighboring churches, most commonly by the elders, teaching and ruling, already in office in the same church.

This office has long since been discontinued in the New England churches. A few never had such an officer. Of the others, some discontinued the office at an earlier, some at a later period. The name of but one ruling elder is mentioned in the records of the Old South Church. This does not prove, however, that none others were chosen. The early records are exceedingly brief and defective: they make no mention of the election of the ruling elder or of the deacons, recorded as such in the book of "Admissions," and said by Hutchinson to have been chosen soon after the formation of the church. Of one of the subsequent deacons, we have only a mention of his death, but no notice of his election. And there were probably deacons in the early periods of the church, of whom there is no

* Hutchinson, vol. I. p. 426.

mention in the records. The present Meeting House, as first finished in 1730, contained an elevated seat, immediately in front of the pulpit, for the ruling elder. This would seem to imply that the office, whether then filled or not, was not considered as finally abolished in 1730. Feb. 2, 1721, 2. Judge Sewall wrote to the Rev. Hugh Adams, of Oyster River, now Durham, N. H., "Was glad to hear, by Mr. Moody, of your comfortable day of prayer in ordaining ruling elders." In the records of the First Church in Boston, p. 59, I find the following entry: "Augt. 3, 1701, Deacon Bridgman and Deacon Cop chosen ruling elders." In the history of the New Brick Church, p. 29, we are informed, that, in that church the office of ruling elder had become almost obsolete in 1735, when an attempt was made to revive it, and it was determined, after numerous meetings, to have two ruling elders; but in Nov. 1736, only one person had been found to accept the office, and the church voted not to choose another. In the New North Church, formed in 1712, we are informed, in Eliot's Historical Notices of that church, that it was agreed to set up the office of ruling elder on the first of July 1720, and three persons were elected into that office, two of whom declining, others were chosen in their stead on the 9th of Sept. following, and the three were ordained April 22, 1721. "In Sept. 1743, Mr. William Parkman was elected as a ruling elder, but was not ordained. He was the last person who filled that office. He died in 1775 or 1776." Cotton Mather, in his Magnalia, published in 1702, says, Book 5. p. 40, "Our churches are now generally destitute of such helps in government." In a note to Winthrop's Journal, (i. 31.) it is remarked, "This office of ruling elder was generally kept up hardly more than fifty years, though in a few churches it continued to the middle of the last century, much reduced, however, in importance, and hardly distinguishable from that of deacon."

Among the causes which produced doubts in relation to the necessity and propriety of this office, and difficulty in obtaining qualified persons to consent to serve in it, and which ultimately led to its universal discontinuance, I have met with the following. "1632, July, The congregation, i. e. the church, at Boston wrote to the elders and brethren of the other churches for their advice on these questions, to wit, *whether one person might be a civil magistrate and a ruling elder at the same time?* if not, then which should he lay down? and whether there might be divers pastors in the same church? *The first was agreed by all negatively;* the second doubtful; the third doubtful also. In consequence of this decision, Mr. Nowell, who was then an elder in the Boston church, relinquished that office, and devoted himself to the duties of a civilian."* Cotton Mather says, (Magnalia, Book 5, p. 40.) "There are some who cannot see any such officer as what we call a ruling elder, directed and appointed in the word of God; and the inconveniences whereunto many churches have been plunged by elders, not of such a number, or not of such a wisdom, as were desirable, have much increased a prejudice against the office itself: besure, partly through a prejudice against the office itself, and partly, indeed chiefly, through a penury of men well qualified for the discharge of it, as it has been heretofore understood and applied, our churches are now generally destitute of such helps in government." Hutchinson says (i. 426.), Every thing which I have mentioned as the peculiar province of the ruling elder, so far as it is in itself necessary or proper, may with propriety enough be performed by the minister. It is not strange, therefore, that this office, in a course of years, sunk into an almost entire disuetude in the churches." To all which is to be added the influence of the fact, that, according to the early practice in the churches here, the whole of that most unpleasant and difficult part of the business of church officers, inquiring into the misconduct of members, and bringing those who transgressed under the discipline of the church, was managed by the ruling elder, there being commonly only one, or at most two in a church; and these, with such associations, and almost no others connected with them as elders, were placed most conspicuously, every sabbath, before the whole congregation, in an elevated seat directly before and under the

* Snow's History of Boston, p. 62. See also Winthrop's Journal, i, 81.

pulpit. These circumstances fully account for the facts that there was, after a time, found to be "a penury of men well qualified for," and willing to accept, the office, and that it "sunk," at length, "into an entire disuetude."

In the early periods of the New England churches, the Deacons, as well as the pastors and teachers and ruling elders, were, in conformity with apostolic example (Acts vi. 6.), ordained with prayer and the imposition of hands. Thus the two persons first chosen deacons of the Third Church were, no doubt, inducted into office, though there is no record of the fact, as there is none of their election. The third deacon of the church was Theophilus Frarye; of whose call to the office the following is the only notice in the records: "Nov. 8, 1685. Mr. Theoph. Frarye was ordained deacon." Judge Sewall has left us, in his journal, an account of the solemnity. It is as follows. "Sabbath day, Nov. 8, 1685. In the afternoon, Mr. Willard ordained our Bror. Theophilus Frarye to ye office of a deacon. Propounded it to the congr. at noon. Then, in even., propounded, if any of the Ch. or other had to object, they might speak. Then took the Ch.'s vote. Then called him up to the pulpit, laid his hands on his head, and said, 'I ordain thee,' &c. Gave him his charge. Then prayed; and sung the 2d part of the 84th Ps." There lies before me while I am writing this note, a volume of "Ordination Sermons," of two of which the following are the titles, "The Divine Right of Deacons. A Sermon preached on occasion of the ordination of Mr. Zechariah Thayer to the office of a Deacon in the Old or First gathered Church in Boston, Lord's day, May 23, 1731. By Thomas Foxcroft, M. A. One of the pastors of the said Church." And, "A Brief Discourse at the Ordination of a Deacon. By John Webb, A. M. Pastor to a Church of Christ in Boston. Printed, 1731." The latter is an address, without a text, of twenty octavo pages. The former is a regular sermon from 1 Tim. iii. 10, 13. It occupies thirty-eight octavo pages; to which is added a "Charge" of four pages, which, it is stated, "was given with the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery."

The practice of ordaining deacons, was also, after a time, generally if not universally, discontinued in the New England churches; in some, no doubt, at an earlier period than in others. Its discontinuance in the First Church in Boston is thus noted in its records: "Augt. 18. 1747. Our brother Daniel Marsh was chosen into the Deacon's office, and took his seat accordingly [in the deacons' seat, before and below the elders' seat, in front of the pulpit] on Lord's day Sept. 13th. But, to this day, Jany. 1754, declines being ordained." The practice of ordaining deacons has, of late, been revived in many of the evangelical Congregational churches of New England; and it, clearly, ought to be revived in all, for the authority in the New Testament for their ordination is as express as that for ordaining ministers.

The following is an account of the deacons of the Old South Church, as complete as I have been able to make it from the records and other sources of information, but still quite imperfect in relation to the early period of the church.

Peter Brackett,	chosen soon after the formation of the church.				
Jacob Eliot,		do.			
Theophilus Frarye,	ordained	Nov. 8, 1685.			
Nathaniel Williams,	elected	Oct. 15, 1693.			
James Hill,	do.	Nov. 24, 1693.			
Daniel Henchman,			deceased in		1763.
Jonathan Simpson,	do.	Aug. 7, 1733.	do.		1763.
Thomas Hubbard.	do.	April 9, 1739.	resigned	Jan. 23,	1764.
Samuel Sewall,	do.	Sept. 16, 1763.	deceased	Jan.	1771.
David Jeffries,	do.	Sept. 16, 1763.	do.	Sept.	1786.
William Phillips,	do.	Feb. 22, 1764.	resigned	Nov.	1793.
Jonathan Mason,	do.	Aug. 20, 1770.	deceased	May 5,	1798.
Thomas Dawes,	do.	Oct. 20, 1786.	do.	Jan. 2,	1809.
Samuel Salisbury,	do.	Mar. 24, 1794.	do.	May 2,	1818.
William Phillips, Jr.	do.	Mar. 24, 1794.	do.	May 26,	1827.
Josiah Salisbury,	do.	May 8, 1817.	do.	Feb. 10,	1826.

Edward Phillips,	elected	May 8, 1817.	deceased Nov. 4, 1826.
Pliny Cutler,	do.	April 29, 1826.	
Thomas Vose,	do.	April 29, 1826.	
Samuel T. Armstrong,	do.	May 18, 1829.	

Note 13. Page 11.

Hutchinson says, i. 271. "The First Church refused the invitation of the new society to join with other churches in ordaining their officers." From this statement it would seem that the Ruling Elder, and perhaps the deacons, were ordained at the same time that Mr. Thatcher was installed. No record exists of the calling or proceedings of the Council convened on this occasion.

Note 14. Page 11.

The original draft of this letter to the old church, with the signatures annexed, is preserved among the papers of the Old South Church. It is as follows. "Reverend and dearly beloved in the Lord. Having had communion with our respective husbands in the Supper of the Lord this sabbath, and judging it for edification and consolation so to doe, wee humbly intreat you candidly to interpret it; and, for the helping of our joy in the Lord for the future, earnestly request you so to release us of our covenant engagement unto yorselves, that wee may, without offence to you, have liberty so to provide for our own peace and spirituall comfort, as may, in our own consciences, be most suitable to our duty, for our edification in the Lord."

Note 15. Page 11.

This vote is not found in the records of the First Church. A copy of it in the records of the Third Church (i. 3.) is as follows, "The vote of ye Old Church of Boston, on 24. 2. 1670. Whereas, we have received testimonie under the hands of some of our sisters, that they have had comunion with those with whom we have declared that we cannot hold comunion till they remove offences given us, notwithstanding ye warning the church hath given against such comunion with them, as that which would be very offensive to them, We do declare therefore, we cannot have comunion with such of ours at the Lord's table who have and do comunicate with them, untill they give us satisfaction, they having broken the rule 1 Cor. x. 32.

JAMES ALLEN.
JAMES PEN."

Note 16. Page 11.

This proposal of accommodation by the Third Church is thus entered on its records, (i. 4.) "We the elders and brethren of the Third Church of Boston, being sensible of the dishonor of the holy name of God and greif on the hearts of God's people occasioned by the late divisions, and desiring that the God of love and peace may dwell among us, Do declare, that to us the known Congregationall way, contained for substance in the platforme of discipline, is the very order of the Gospel. And, professing our readiness, upon conviction, to acknowledge any thing wherein we have, thro infirmity, swerved from this rule in this houre of temptation, tho now we see it not, and earnestly desiring the Lord to pardon what he hath seen amiss on either hand, in any part of this transaction, do freely tender fully to passe by whatsoever hath ben any ways greivouse or offensive unto us. And further, intreating our brethren of the first gathered church to dismisse, unto us those who, being of or mind, have still held comunion with us, if they still desire it, do hereby testify or resolution what in us lys to walk on in brotherly love and comunion with ye said First Church of Boston, as becometh ye churches of Christ so nearly related.

"This is a true copy of the essay for accomodation between the first and third gathered church in Boston, delivered in writing to Mr. Oxenbridge to be considered of, on the 1. 6. 1670, in ye presence of elder Edward Raynsford, by me, THOMAS THATCHER.

NOTE 17. PAGE 11.

The original draft of this application, with the signatures annexed, is preserved among the papers of the Old South Church. The standing of these women with the Old Church is evinced by the following extract from its records, p. 33. "Upon a question brought to ye elders concerning one of those sisters who have departed from us, viz. Sarah Pemberton, and by ym brought to ye church, whether this church would deale wth her. Now, she having irregularly withdrawn, as wee conceive, from us, and broken her covenant with us, and yreby manifested herself to be non of us, we declare yt we look on orselves as disingaged of any covenant duty to her, and that she ceaseth to stand in a sisterly relation to us. Voted by ye church, ye 15. 3mo. 1671."

NOTE 18. PAGE 11.

These females are to be regarded as among the founders of the church. Their names are, therefore, here inserted, from the book of "Admissions." Mrs. Margaret Thatcher; Mrs. Elizabeth Gibs, now Cowin; Mrs. Mary Norton; Hanna Frarye; Mary Salter; Mrs. Judith Hull; Mrs. Mary Savage, now Stoddard; Ranis Belcher; Elizabeth Rainsford; Sara Pemberton; Elizabeth Thurston; Sara Walker; Mary Tappan; Elizabeth Alden; Elizabeth Rocke; Sara Oliver; Mary Eliot; Mary Bracket; Susanna Daws; Joanna Mason; Alice Harper; Mrs. Rachel Rawson; Sara Bodman.

The result of Council which led to their reception into the Third Church has been inquired for, of late, and used as an authority. It will therefore be here inserted, as preserved among the papers of the Old South Church.

"Upon a motion made by ye South Church of Boston unto such Elders of other churches as were there assembled upon ye 28 of May 1674, for the resolution of ys following question, 'What is or duty towards those members of the Old Church who were and still are secluded from comunion with that church in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, only because of yr participation with us therein, and who also desire to join in church fellowship with us?' Those elders, having inquired into and labored after a right understanding of the true state of ye question as it ariseth from matter of fact and relates unto matter of practice in ye great duties of church comunion and comunion of churches, do, humbly and in ye fear of God, offer our sincere understanding of ye case stated in ys question, and, 2dly, our advice and counsel thereupon.

"1. That the church inquiring, respecting both its constitutions and administrations both of doctrine and worship, is, and ought to be acknowledged, a true church of Christ, standing right in the order of comunion of churches in all respects, free and clear from any just scandall or offence given or taken; as appears by the oft renewed acts and constant practice of comunion, and by the right hand of fellowship orderly and mutually given and taken between them and generally all other churches as occasion doth require.

"2. That therefore comunion with this church in the participation of the Lord's Supper duly and regularly administered is not moral evil, nor justly offensive unto any other church, any of whose inoffensive members shall, orderly and occasionally, for their own edification and comfort, desire to comunicate with them therein, by virtue of comunion of churches.

"3. That therefore for any other church to seclude or suspend a considerable number of their own (otherwise inoffensive) members from comunion with themselves in yt holy sacrament, meerly and only for participation with that church therein, is not justifiable as to the grounds and reasons thereof, but seems to us to be crossee to the rules and order of the comunion of churches, and so to their peace and union.

"4. That so to seclude and suspend such and so many members indefinitely from church comunion, without the ordinary improvemt. and application of the rules of church discipline, or any orderly proceeding in a church way to call them before the church in public church assembly to convince them of the evil and sinfullnesse of the fact, to reduce, recover

them and restore them; and that singly and severally, each one by themselves, and to let such and so many members live and ly, for divers yeers together under such a suspension without any further proceeding in any church is not justifyable, for ye manner of it, there having been no regular forensicall exercise of judicale power by the church according to known scripture rules of church discipline, nor any liberty or opportunity graunted to reputed offenders either to clear their innocency, if innocent, or to hear ye church and expresse their repentance if guilty; and therefore we cannot judge such a seclusion and suspension to be a regular church censure.

"5. That therefore any such declarative act of any church whereby they do in such a way and manner sentence any or so many of their own members unto non-comunion with themselves; and so, consequently, with all other churches, it being neither properly an Ecclesiasticall admonition nor excomunication; It is not (de jure) binding in foro Dei aut conscientiæ, and is therefore no reall regular bar either unto those members from joining with another church, neither unto another church from receiving them into their fellowship, there having ben all due means used for their reconciliation to and dismission from the sd. church unto that wh. they find more for their edification and consolation in ye Lord; and yet, it proving in vain and altogether impossible and (as to man) after so many years waiting utterly hopelesse, yt shout be obtained for ye future;

"In such a cass we judge

"That such members may joyne, and such a church unto whome they desire to joyn may receive them into their fellowship, without the transgression of any rule of church order or any just offence given unto ye church unto wch they did belong, provided they be in a capacity, by a convenient vicinity and other necessary circumstances, to walk with that church constantly in ye course of church fellowp. and come according to their church covenant.

Samuel Whiting, Senr. [of Lynn], John Eliot [Roxbury], Peter Hobart [Hingham], Thomas Cobbet [Ipswich], John Sherman [Watertown], William Hubbard [Ipswich], John Higginson [Salem], John Wilson [Medfield], Jeremiah Hubbard [Topsfield], Samuel Phillips [Rowley], Joseph Rowlandson [Lancaster], Seaborn Cotton [Hampton, N. H.], John Hale [Beverly.]

Note 19. Page 11.

Almost immediately after his call to the pastoral office in the new or third church, and before his installation, measures were taken to obtain for him an able colleague. Among the papers of the church is a letter dated Nov. 8, 1669, addressed to Mr. John Hull one of the members, who, it seems, was about to take a voyage to England, signed by Mr. Thatcher and twenty seven brethren of the church, requesting Mr. Hull, when he should arrive in the mother country, to 'inquire after and seek out and get for them some able, orthodox, godly man, in esteem and request among the pious and wise hearted among those of the Congregational way, to be joined with the Rev. Mr. Thatcher in the work of the ministry among them.' There is also a recommendation of Mr. Hull and his object to the Congregational ministers and churches in England, dated Nov. 4, 1669, and signed by nineteen of the ministers then in the colony. Whether Mr. Hull actually went to England at that time does not appear: but it is certain no colleague was obtained from that country for Mr. Thatcher.

Note 20. Page 12.

The account I have given of Mr. Thatcher is compiled chiefly from the life of him by Cotton Mather, Magnalia, Book 3, p. 148, and from the notices of him in Eliot's and Allen's Biographical Dictionaries. My authority, for the assertion that "he was among the most popular preachers in the colony," is the following, which I met with in 1 Histor. Collections, viii, 278. "In Chalmers' Political Annals there is a curious paper concerning the inhabitants of this government, taken from *New England entries in the Plantation Office*, entitled 'Observations made by the curious on N. E. about

the year 1673, which was given to Randolph for his direction, that he may prove or disprove them.'" [One of the statements in this paper is the following.] "Among the ministers the most popular are Mr. Thatcher, Mr. Oxenbridge, Mr. Higginson."

Mr. Thatcher was twice married, May 11, 1643, to a daughter of Mr. Ralph Partridge, minister of Duxbury; and, to a second wife, in Boston. He left children, from whom there have been numerous descendants.

Cotton Mather in his life of Mr. Thatcher says, "He was very watchful over the souls of his people, and careful to preserve them from errors as well as vices. But of all errors, he discovered an antipathy unto none more than that sink of all errors, Quakerism;" against which, he says, he "employed a most fervent zeal;" not, so far as appears, in promoting what has been called their persecution by the civil power, but by employing his talents and influence in exposing their errors and counteracting their efforts to spread their fanatical opinions and disorderly practices.*

This statement introduces a subject in relation to which great injustice has been done to the fathers of New England. 'They fled from persecution themselves,' it is said, 'and then persecuted to banishment and to death the poor Quakers! what inconsistency, what cruelty, what wickedness!' Those who say such things, it is presumed, have before their minds the orderly, industrious, respectable Quakers of the present day, and, in their ignorance, have not a doubt but that the sentence of condemnation they have pronounced upon their pious fathers is perfectly just. But is it so? We shall not attempt to justify the conduct referred to. With Cotton Mather (Magnalia, Book 7, p. 23) we say, "If any man will appear in the *vindication* of it, let him do as he please; for my part, I will not. I am verily persuaded, these miserable Quakers would, in a little while, (as we have now seen) have come to nothing, if the civil magistrates had not inflicted any civil penalty upon them." But is there no extenuation, no apology? Let a few of the facts be impartially considered. 1. The law of October 1658, which enacted "that all Quakers who should return into the jurisdiction after banishment, should be punished with death," (and under which four persons, and only four, were executed,) met with great, and at first successful opposition, being rejected by the Deputies, and afterwards on reconsideration passed by a majority of one only. And "it was with reluctance" that it "was carried into execution."†

2. In Virginia a law was passed, in March 1659, 60, which "subjected all masters of vessels to a penalty of £100 sterling for each Quaker brought by them into the colony; and all Quakers were to be imprisoned without bail or mainprize till they found sufficient security to depart the colony; they were to be proceeded against as contumacious of the laws and magistracy and punished accordingly; and, in case they came a third time into the colony, they were to be prosecuted as *felons;* and all persons were prohibited, under the penalty of £100 sterling, from entertaining them, or permitting their assembling in or near their houses; and no person was to dispose of or publish any books or pamphlets containing the tenets of their religion. Under the Virginia law no capital punishment ever took place;"‡ but, we see, it was not because the Legislature had not prescribed such a penalty. The spirit of the age is, then, to bear most of the blame of the persecutions in Massachusetts. But, 3., the Quakers of that period were an entirely different people from those of the present day; the conduct of many of them was turbulent and extremely indecent, such as would now incur very severe civil penalties. They were in the habit of "ordinarily saying among the people, 'We deny thy Christ. We deny thy God, which thou callest Father, Son and Spirit. Thy Bible is the word of the Devil.'" They in writing and speech denounced "all earthly powers, parliaments, laws, charters, magistrates and princes." When questioned by the magistrates, "they gave rude and contemptuous answers," and "railed at and reviled the governor, and others with him, in the public streets. In repeated instances, they came into congregations, and called out to the minister in the time of public worship, declaring their preaching &c. to be an abomination to the Lord." "Thomas

* See Magnalia, Book 5, p. 151.
† Hutchinson, i, 198.
‡ Christian Spectator for 1830, pp. 265, 266.

Newhouse went into the Meeting House at Boston, with a couple of glass bottles, and broke them before the congregation, and threatened, 'Thus will the Lord break you in pieces.' Another time M. Brewster came in [to the South Meeting House] with her face smeared and as black as a coal. Deborah Wilson went through the streets of Salem, naked as she came into the world." "Two women of their sect came stark naked as ever they were born into our public assemblies."—These statements, which I have taken from Hutchinson (i, 196—204) and Cotton Mather, (Magnalia, Book 7, pp.23, 24,) I am told are fully confirmed in a treatise, which I have not been able to procure, entitled *New England Judged*, by George Bishop, a Quaker.

Now let the candid reader say, whether the difference of treatment which persons so conducting would receive in this age, would not be attributable, chiefly, if not entirely, to the generally milder spirit of the laws now than at the period under review.

'But then,' it is said, 'the fathers fined, imprisoned and banished the Baptists, in 1665 and onward.' True: and their conduct in this particular, we exceedingly regret, and wholly disapprove. But let it be recollected what disorders the Anabaptists had created in Germany (see Mosheim's Ecl. Hist. Cent. xvi. Chap. 3. Sect. 3. Part 2.); and that it is testified that "the General Court were afraid lest matters might at last, from small beginnings, grow into a new Munster Tragedy." (Magnalia, Book 7, p. 27.) In their act, they expressly assign as a motive of their proceeding, a fear that the scenes of Munster might be repeated here.—We object not to any one's temperately and candidly expressing his disapprobation of the conduct of the fathers in persecuting different sects. But we must insist, that no man will suffer himself to rail at them for it, at least until, upon an impartial view of the whole case, he arrives at an assurance, that, *in the same age and in precisely in the same circumstances*, he would have acted more consistently with the civil and religious rights of men.

Note 21. Page 14.

The quotations in the account I have given of Mr. Willard, are from the funeral sermon by his colleague Mr. Pemberton, and from Eliot's and Allen's Biographical Dictionaries. The following additional particulars in relation to him may be interesting to the reader.

He was the third son of Maj. Simon Willard, sometime "a member of the Council, and at the head of the militia." Rev. Mr. Willard was born at Concord, Mass., Jan. 31, 1640. He married Abigail Sherman, Aug. 8, 1664, and Eunice Tyng about 1679; and at his decease left a widow and a large family of children, whose descendants are numerous at this day. Accounts of the family may be seen in Farmer's Genealogical Register, and in the Historical Collections, published at Concord, N. H. in 1822, No. 3.

The following anecdote is given, 1. Mass. Histor. Coll. viii, 182, in proof of the excellence of his delivery. It is in a "History of Eastham." Referring to Mr. Treat, one of the ministers of that town, the matter of whose sermons is stated to have been "excellent" but greatly "injured by the badness of his manner," the writer observes, "After his marriage with the daughter of Mr. Willard, he was sometimes invited by that gentleman to preach in his pulpit. Mr. Willard possessed an agreeable delivery and harmonious voice; and though he did not gain much reputation by his Body of Divinity,* which is frequently sneered at, particularly by those who have not read it, yet, in his sermons are strength of thought and energy of language. The natural consequence was that he was generally admired. Mr. Treat having preached one of his best discourses to the congregation of his father-in-law, in his usual unhappy manner, excited universal disgust, and several nice judges waited on Mr. Willard, and begged that

* To explain this remark, the reader need only be informed, that the writer of the History of Eastham was decidedly anti-evangelical in his religious opinions. That the remark is unfounded, at least as applicable to many years after the preparation and publication of the Body of Divinity, will be proved in the course of this Note.

Mr. Treat, who was a worthy, pious man, it was true, but a wretched preacher, might never be invited into his pulpit again. To this request Mr. Willard made no reply: but he desired his son-in-law to lend him the discourse; which being left with him, he delivered it, without alteration, to his people, a few weeks after. The hearers were charmed. They flew to Mr. Willard, and requested a copy for the press. 'See the difference,' they cried, 'between yourself and your son-in-law. You have preached a sermon on the same text as Mr. Treat's; but whilst his was contemptible, yours was excellent.' "

The following is the principal authority for the statement I have made respecting the part he took in relation to the proceedings respecting witchcraft. The extracts are from Mr. Thomas Brattle's "Account of the witchcrafts, in the county of Essex in 1692," inserted in 1 Mass. Histor. Coll. v, 61. "Although the chief judge, and several of the other judges, be very zealous for these proceedings, yet this you may take for a truth, that there are several about the Bay, men for understanding, judgment and piety, inferior to few, if any, in N. E., that do utterly condemn the said proceedings, and do freely deliver their judgment in the case to be this, viz. that these methods will utterly ruin and undo poor N. E. I shall nominate some of them to you, viz. the Hon. Simon Bradstreet, Esq., our late governor; the Hon. Thomas Danforth, Esq., our late deputy governor, the Rev. Mr. Increase Mather, and the Rev. Samuel Willard," &c. pp. 74, 75. Again he says, "I cannot but highly applaud, and think it our duty to be very thankful for, the endeavors of several elders, whose lips I think should preserve knowledge, and whose counsel should, I think, have been more regarded, in a case of this nature, than it has yet been. In particular, I cannot but think very honorably of the endeavors of a Rev. person in Boston, whose good affection to his country in general, and spiritual relation to three of the judges in particular, has made him very solicitous and industrious in this matter: and I am fully persuaded that, had his notions and proposals been hearkened to and followed, when these troubles were in their birth, in an ordinary way, they never would have grown unto the height which they now have. He has, as yet, met with little but unkindness, abuse and reproach from many men; but, I trust, that, in after times, his wisdom and service will find a more universal acknowledgment; and if not, his reward is with the Lord." pp. 76, 77. This undoubtedly refers to Mr. Willard, for Stoughton the chief judge, and Sewall and Winthrop, judges, were members of his church. Bently in his account of Salem, 1Mass. Histor. Coll. vi, referring to the witchcraft proceedings, and having mentioned Mr. English and his wife, very respectable inhabitants of Salem, as having been arrested and "confined in Arnold jail in Boston till the time of trial," says, they "were relieved by the generous favor of Messrs. Willard and Moody."* "They assisted Mr. English and his wife in removing to New York, and recommended them to Governor Fletcher, who paid them every attention." Mr. Pemberton in his funeral sermon says of Mr. Willard, "It ought never to be forgotten, with what prudence, courage and zeal, he appeared for the good of this people, *in that dark and mysterious season*, when we were assaulted from the invisible world. And how singularly instrumental he was in discovering the cheats and delusions of Satan, which had stained our land with blood, and did threaten to deluge it with all manner of woes." From a statement in the Magnalia, Book vi, p. 67, it appears, that Mr. Willard had had something to do with persons supposed to be bewitched many years before. The author is giving an account of a woman who, he says, was "manifestly" under a dæmoniacal influence, at Groton, in 1671. Among the strange things related of her is the following, "The chief things that the dæmon spoke were horrid railings against the godly minister of the town." It seems too that he was once named by one of the accusers at Salem. Calef states, in his account, that "one of the accusers cried out publicly of *Mr. Willard* minister in Boston, as afflicting of her; she was sent out of the court, and it was told about she was mistaken in the person." A full account of these remarkable proceedings may be seen in "The Wonders of the Invisible World Displayed,

* Rev. Joshua Moody of Portsmouth N. H., then residing in Boston, and preaching to the First Church.

by Robert Calef;" and in Hutchinson's History, ii, 15—61. Much ridicule has been heaped upon our fathers for these proceedings. But it should be recollected that similar occurrences had been much more general in England not long before, where "more" were "put to death" as witches "in a single county, in a short space of time, than have suffered" for this alleged crime "in all New England from the first settlement;"* that such men as Lord Chief Justice Hale sanctioned and participated in those proceedings; and that "the contagion," as it has been appropriately called, undoubtedly spread to New England from the mother country. It was one of those aberrations of imagination and judgment which sometimes pervade and agitate whole communities; which we contemplate with wonder, but cannot explain.

Of the numerous evidences I have met with of the honorable and affectionate estimation in which Mr. Willard was held by his congregation and by the public, I can allow myself space for the insertion of only the following. *From Judge Sewall's Journal.* "Lord's day, Sept. 29, 1700. Mr. Willard, by reason of sickness, keeps house." "Oct. 8, 1700. Is a fast at ye new Meeting House, to pray for Mr. Willard's life. Mr. Colman, Wardsworth, pray. Mr. Pemberton preaches, Phillip. i, 24. Mr. Allen, Cotton Mather, pray. 20th Psalm, two stanzas and ½ sung, L.. Lieut. Gov., Mr. Russel, Cook, Addington, Em. Hutchinson, Townsend, there. Mr. Fisk, Danforth, Walter, Brattle, out of town. Pretty considerable congregation, it being so sudden, and first intended in private." "Nov. 21, 1700. Day of public thanksgiving. At 3 past meridn. Mr. Willard comes abroad, and prays, to the great refreshment of ye congregation. This ye first time since his sickness. In ye evening I made these verses on it, viz.

As Joseph let his brethren see
Simeon, both alive and free,
So Jesus brings forth Samuel,
To tune our hearts to praise him well.
Thus He with beams of cheerful light,
Corrects the darkness of our night;
His grace assists us, in this wise,
To seise, and bind the sacrifice."

"Monday, Aug. 11, 1707. Mr. Willard goes to Cambridge to expound, but finds few scholars come together; and moreover, was himself taken ill there, which obliged him to come from thence before prayer time. Tuesday, August 12, between 6 and 7, I visited Mr. Willard, to see how his journey and labour at ye college had agreed with him; and he surprised me with ye above account; told me of a great pain in his head and sickness at his stomach, and that he believ'd he was near his end. I mention'd the business of the college. He desired me to do his message by word of mouth. Quickly after I left Mr. Willard, he fell very sick, and had three sore convulsion fits, to our great sorrow and amazement. Thursday, Aug. 14. When ye Govr. enquired after Mr. Willard, I acquainted the Govr. and Council yt Mr. Willard was not capable of doing the college work another year; he thanked ym for yr acceptance of his service, and reward. Govr. and Council order'd Mr. Winthrop and Brown to visit the Revd. Mr. Willard, and thank him for his good service the six years past. Sent down for concurrence, and Depts. to name persons to join in yr thanks and condolence. Depts. concur; and nominate ye Revd. Mr. Nehemiah Hobart to officiate in ye mean time, till Octr. next. This ye Govr. and Council did not accept; and so nothing was done."† "Sept. 12. Mehetabel Thurston tells me Mr. Willard was taken very sick. I hoped it might go off, and went to dinner. When I came there, Mr. Pemberton was at prayer, near concluding. A pretty many in the chamber. After prayer, many went out. I staid and sat down; and, in a few minutes, saw my dear pastor expire. It was a little after two, just abt. two hours from his being taken. It was

* The whole number executed during the prevalence of what is commonly called "the Salem witchcraft" was nineteen.

† All the accounts I have seen of Mr. Willard say, that he continued in his Vice-presidency till his death. The last extract from Judge Sewall's journal proves this to be incorrect. He resigned, and his resignation was accepted, a month before his death.

very surprising. The doctors were in another room consulting what to doe. He administered the Lord's Supper and baptized a child last Lord's day; did it with suitable voice, affection, fluency; did not preach. Septr. 11th, he went to lecture and heard Mr. Pierpont. At even, seemed much better than had been lately. 'Tis thought cutting his finger might bring on that tumultuous passion yt carried him away. There was a doleful cry in the house."—In Rev. Dr. Sewall's journal is the following account of his death and burial. "1707, Sept. 12. Ye Rev. Mr. Willard, after he had cut his finger whle eating oysters, went up to his study, called his wife, thanked her for her kindness, pray'd God to bless ym all; yn fell into a convulsion, about noon, wch, in two hours time (plus, minus,) dispatcht him, to ye great grief and sorrow of all good men." "15. Mr. Willard is buried. Ye members of ye college, ye Corporation, &c. go before ye corpse. We all have gloves. A vast body of spectators. He is laid in our tomb. I went down into it. Ye dead cry, Memento mori."

The preface to Mr. Willard's Body of Divinity, by his successors Sewall and Prince in 1725, commences thus: "The late reverend and learned author of the following Lectures has been so universally and justly admired and celebrated in these parts of the world, for his eminent capacity, piety, wisdom, his deep and perspicuous insight into the most difficult points of divinity, and his most judicious and accurate manner of expressing and clearing, as well as most useful application of them, that there's no need of our setting forth his character, either for the information of his countrymen, or their inducement to peruse the large composure that now presents itself to their view. We need only say, '*Tis Mr. Willard's*,' and 'tis enough to recommend it to their high respect and diligent attention; and that it falls not short of his other excellent performances, which, as well as his rare accomplishmemts and conduct while alive, have deservedly gained him so great a fame and esteem among us." The Rev. John Barnard, in his "Sketch of emment Ministers in N. E.," in a letter to Dr. Stiles, (1 Mass. Hist. Coll. x. 167.) says of Mr. Willard, "He was a hard student, of great learning for that day, of a clear head, solid judgment, excellent both in preaching and in prayer, an exemplary Christian, pleasant in conversation, whose name is had in remembrance among us, and his works praise him." His writings, especially his Body of Divinity, were in high repute long after his death. A writer in the Panoplist for 1806, on "the Neglect of the old Divines," after mentioning the great value of the writings of Owen, Baxter, Leighton, Flavel, and Bunyan, continues thus, "Our own country was by no means deficient, even at the early period mentioned, in divines of the same general character. Among a variety of others, we may distinguish Willard, who has illustrated all the capital topics of theology, with a degree of sagacity, judgment and learning, which entitle his name and writings to affectionate and lasting veneration." Catalogues of Mr. Willard's works may be seen in Eliot and Allen.

Note 22. Page 15.

It is as follows. *The direction.* "These fore ye Revnd. Mr. Saml. Willard, Teacher to ye 3d. Church in Boston. To be communicated to ye church." *The letter.* "Revnd. Sr. These are only to informe yr. self and church of the underwritten Generall Court's Ansr. and order, not doubting of yr. and their obedience and complyance therewith at the time, remayning Your friend and servant. Ewd. Rawson, Secty.
Boston, 11th, July 1769.

At a Generall Court held at Boston, 28th of May, 1679: In ansr. to a motion made by some of the Reverend elders, that there might be a convening of the Elders and messengers of the churches in the form of a Synod, fore the revisall of the platforme of discipline agreed upon by ye churches 1647; and what else may appeare necessary for the preventing schisms, heresies, profaneness, and the establishment of the churches in the faith and order of the Gospel: This Court doe approve of the said motion; and order their assembling for the ends aforesaid, on the second wednesday in September next, at Boston. And the Secretary is required to give seasonable notice hereof to the several churches. And it is further ordered that

the charge of this meeting shall be borne by the churches respectively. By order of the Court. EDWD. RAWSON, Sectry.

Questions given in, were. 1. Quest. What are the evils that have provoked the Lord to bring his judgments on New England? 2. Quest. What is to be done that so those evils may be reformed?"—The request was complied with by this church. The first church in Boston seems to have had some apprehensions that this Synod was designed to have a bearing upon them, and their proceedings, towards the Third Church, and in regard to the result of the former Synod, to which they had not conformed since the call of Mr. Davenport. They therefore acceded to this proposal in the following terms, "Aug. 5, 1679, Voted by ye Church, upon an order of ye Generall Court to send Elders and Messengers to a Synod to meet the 2d, 4th day in Septr. Tho we doe not see light for ye calling of a Synod att this time, yett, yr being one called, yt wt good there is or may bee motioned may bee encouraged, and evill prevented by or testimony, wee are willing to send or messengers to it: Tho wtever is there determined, wee looke upon and judge to bee no further binding to us yn the light of God's word is yrby cleared to or consciences." Records of the First Church, p. 39.

NOTE 23. PAGE 16.

It is as follows. "June 29,1680. Ye church renewed covenant, as followeth. Wee who, through ye exceeding riches of ye grace and providence of God, do continue to be a church of Christ, being now assembled in ye holy presence of God, in the name of ye Lord Jesus Christ, after humble confession of or manifold breaches of ye covenant before ye Lord or God, and earnest supplication for pardoning mercy through ye blood of Christ, and deep acknowledgmt of or great unworthinesse to be owned to be ye Lord's covenant people; also acknowledging or own inability to keep covenant with God, or to performe any spirituall dutye, unlesse ye Lord Jesus do enable us thereto by his Spirit dwelling in us; and being awfully sensible yt it is a dreadfull thing for sinfull dust and ashes personally to transact with ye infinitelye glorious majesty of heaven and earth: we do, in humble confidence of his gracious assistance and acceptance through Christ, each one of us for orselves, and joyntly as a church of ye living God, explicitly renew or covenant with God and one wth another, in maner and forme following, i. e.

We do give up orselves to yt God whose name alone is Jehovah, Father, Son and Holy Ghost, ye one only true and living God, and to or blessed Lord Jesus Christ, as or only blessed Savior, Prophet, Priest, and King over or souls, and only Mediator of ye Covenant of Grace; promising, by ye helpe of his Spirit and grace, to cleave unto God as or chiefe good, and to ye Lord Jesus Christ by faith and Gospel-obedience, as becometh his covenant people, forever.

We do also give up or offspring to God in Jesus Christ, avouching ye Lord to be or God and ye God of or children, and orselves with or children to be his people; humbly adoring ye grace of God, yt we and or offspring with us may be looked upon to be ye Lord's.

We do also give up orselves one to another in ye Lord, and according to ye will of God; freely covenanting and binding orselves to walke together as a right ordered congregation and church of Christ, in all ye wayes of his worship, according to ye holy rules of ye word of God, promising, in brotherlye love, to watch over one another's soules faithfully, and to submit orselves to ye discipline and governmt of Christ in his Church, and duly to attend all those ordinances which Christ hath instituted in his Church, and comanded to be attended by his people, according to ye order of ye Gospel, and degrees of comunion unto which we have attained, not resting in measures attained, but pressing after all.

AND whereas the Messengers of those churches who have met together in ye name of Christ, to enquire into ye reason of God's controversye with his people, have taken notice of many provoking evils and procuring causes of ye judgments of God upon N. E.; so farre as we, or any one of us, have bin guilty of provoking God by any sin therein discovered to us, we desire from or hearts to bewaile it before ye Lord, and humbly to entreat for pardoning mercy for ye sake of ye blood of ye everlasting covent.; and as an expedient to reformation of those evils, or wtsoever else have provoked ye

eyes of God's glory among us, we do freely engage and promise as in ye presence of God,

First, yt we will (Christ helping) endeavr, every one of us, so to forme or heart and life, by seeking to mortifye all or sins, and laboring to walke more closelye with God than ever yet we have done; and will continue to worship God, in publick, private, secret, and this without formality or hypocrisye; and more fully and faithfully than heretofore to discharge all covenant dutyes one to another in church comunion.

Secondly, to walke before God in or houses wth a perfect heart; and yt we will uphold ye worship of God therein continually, according as he in his word doth require, both in respect of prayer and reading of ye Scriptures, yt so ye word of God may dwell richly in us; and will do what in us lyes to bring up or children for Christ, yt they may become such as they yt have ye Lord's name put upon them by a solemn dedication to God in Christ ought to be; and will therefore, (as need shall be) catechise, exhort and charge ym, to fear ye Lord, and endeavr to set an holy example before ym, and be much in prayer for yr conversion and salvation.

Thirdly, to endeavr to be pure frm ye sins of ye times, especially those sins which have bin by ye late Synod solemnly declared and evidenced to be ye evils yt have brought ye judgmts of God up N. E.; and in or place to endeavr the suppression thereof, and be carefull so to walke as yt wee may not give occasion to others to sin or speake evill of or holy profession.

Now, yt we may observe and keep ys sacred covenant, and all ye branches of it, inviolable forever, we desire to deny orselves and depend wholly upon ye power of ye eternall Spirit of grace, on ye free mercy of God, and merit of Christ Jesus; and where we shall faile, there to waite upon ye Lord Jesus for pardon, acceptance and healing, for his name's sake.

This covenant was solemnly acknowledged and engaged in by the whole church, June 29, 1680."

Note 24. Page 16.

In the letter to the Bishop of London, already referred to in note (w) p. 8, after the statement there quoted respecting the dissentions between the First and the Third Churches, he proceeds, "But now, heering of my proposals for ministers to be sent over, (for they have very good correspondancy with some of the clarks of the Council,) they are joyned together, about a fortnight ago, and pray to God, to confound the devices of all who disturbe their peace and liberties." And in other parts of the letter he says, "In my attendance on your Lordship, I often expressed that some able ministers might be appoynted to perform the offices of the Church with us. The maine obstacle was, how they should be maintayned. I did formerly, and doe now propose, that a part of that money sent over hither and pretended to be expended amongst the Indians, may be ordered to goe towards that charge." "Since we are heere immediately under your Lordship's care, I with more freedom press for able and sober ministers, and we will contribute largely to their maintenance; but one thing will mainely helpe, when no marriages hereafter shall be allowed lawfull but such as are made by the ministers of the Church of England." Hutchinson's Collection, pp. 532, 531, 533.

Note 25. Page 17.

"The following extracts," says the historian of the First Church (p. 130,) "which are copied exactly from her records, will shew the formal, cautious, yet frank and generous manner, in which the reconciliation was begun and completed.

"At a meeting of the First Church in Boston, Apr. 23, 1682.

"A motion to the South Church.

"Question. Whether you be willing, keeping the rule in its intireness, and not revoking your testimony thereto, with that rule of church order, "which we have proposed assent unto, and is published, as the judgment of the churches of Newengland platform of discipline, Chapt. 13th throughout, to forgive and forget all offences, as respecting ourselves, that, we judge, have justly been taken at our dissenting brethren?

"Supposing this pass in the Old Church.

"Question. Will it not be expedient, that it be lovingly presented to the dissenting brethren, and that society, by a meet person or persons, and that they be desired to signify by writing their approbation of that rule, and, judging any deviation from it to be irregular, and, if the return be acceptable, that it will be recorded by both, in memory of an happy issue of that uncomfortable and long breach, and the beginning of our desired peace, which the Lord grant. Amen.

"Voted in the affirmative together."

"Letter from the Third Church in Boston in return to the above motion."

"Worshipful, reverend, and beloved.

"As we cannot but with grief acknowledge the great evil that there is in divisions, from the sad experience which we have had of the dangerous influence which the distance betwixt you and us hath had in this land, so we desire heartily to acknowledge the goodness of God in according your hearts to look towards a pacification, and with thankfulness to adopt, at your hands, the kind tender of reconciliation made unto us, to the furthering whereof God forbid that we should wilfully put any obstruction; we rather desire to put all the hands we have to the accepting of it; as being sensible of the truth of what is intimated, 2 Sam. ii. 26. That 'if the sword devour forever, it will be bitterness in the end.'

"As for the condition of accommodation, which hath been presented to us from yourselves by the worshipful Samuel Howell, esq. and the Reverend Mr. Allen, we are fully and freely ready to subscribe it. And, as we have publickly, and particularly in the last synod, acknowledged the platform of church discipline, which was agreed upon by the elders and messengers of the churches, to be for the substance of it orthodox, so we do now in particular approve, what we do believe, the thirteenth chapter of that book throughout to be according to rule and the mind of God in his word, respecting the case therein treated of, and that any deviation therefrom is irregular, and wherein any of our sinful infirmities have been grievous to all or any of your church, we ask forgiveness both of God and of yourselves; and desire daily to pray, 'What we know not teach thou us, and if we have done amiss, we will do so no more.' For ourselves we are heartily content, that all things, wherein we judge ourselves to have been aggrieved cease [and] be buried in oblivion.

"The God of grace direct you to a good and happy issuing of the great affair, which you have so candidly begun, and cover all the failings of his people under the robe of Christ's righteousness, granting unto us all the blessings of the gospel of peace, and to yourselves the blessedness of peace-makers!

"So pray, worshipful, reverend, and beloved, your brethren in the lord Jesus Christ,

SAMUEL WILLARD,
in the name and with the free and full vote of the brethren of the third gathered church in Boston.

To the Rev. Mr. James Allen, teacher, and Mr. John Wiswall, ruling elder, of the first gathered church in Boston. These,

To be communicated to the church."

"Letter from the First Church in Boston to the Third.

"At a meeting of the First Church of Christ in Boston, May 7, 1682.

"Honoured, worshipful, reverend, beloved in the Lord.

"We have received your return by the worshipful Mr. John Hull, esquire, and the Reverend Mr. Samuel Willard, to our motion to hear, wherein you express your thankful reception and full concurrence with the condition of accommodation therein mentioned, which we declare to be acceptable to us. And, wherein our sinful infirmities have been grievous to you or any of your church, we mutually ask forgiveness of God and you. And desire all offences we judge have been given us, may be forgiven and forgotten, desiring to forgive others, even as we believe God for Christ's sake hath forgiven us.

"And we further entreat, that both our motion and your return and this conclusion may be recorded with you, as it shall be with us, in memory of a happy issue of our uncomfortable dispute and the way of our peace.

"Now the God of peace, that brought again from the dead our lord Jesus Christ, that great shepherd of the sheep, by the blood of the everlasting covenant, make you perfect in every good work to do his will, working in you that which is most well pleasing in his sight,

"So pray, honoured, reverend, beloved, your brethren in the faith and fellowship of the gospel,

JAMES ALLEN.
JOHN WISWALL.

"With the full and unanimous consent of the brethren."

The author of the Magnalia adds to his account of the reconciliation quoted in the sermon, "The two churches, however, continued still their various dispositions to the propositions of the Synod [in regard to baptism and church membership]; and it is well known that the example of Boston has, from the beginning, as the prophets once intimated of Jerusalem, had no small efficacy upon all the land." Book 5, p. 83. The First Church at last, however, it appears from their records, p. 129, voted, March 3, 1730, 31, to conform to "the general practice."

Note 26. Page 17.

How Mr. Ratcliffe was supported I have not learned. The following proposal on that subject, in a letter from Randolph to the Archbishop of Canterbury written during Mr. Dudley's presidency, shews the views and wishes of the men then in power. "Of the president and eighteen members of the Council, there is only myself, since Mr. Mason's departure for England, that is of the church of England. It was never intended that the charge should be supported by myself and some few others of our communion. I humbly represent to your Grace, that the three Meeting-houses in Boston might pay twenty shillings a week each, out of their contributions, towards defraying of our church charges, that sum being less per annum than each of their ministers receive. Thus much relating to the affairs of our church." Hutch. i, 350, note.

Note 27. Page 18.

The time of the Governor's ceasing to occupy the South Meeting House is no where mentioned, so far as I have learned. I conclude that he occupied it till his deposition, in April 1689, because I find notices of his using it when in town till near that time; and it appears (Snow's Hist. of Boston, p. 192) that the first house erected here for Episcopal worship was finished about July in that year.

The authority for the statements in relation to this tyrannical proceeding is the journal of Judge Sewall. It will be interesting to the reader to peruse his notices of those transactions. They are as follows. "1686, Wednesday May 26. Mr. Ratcliffe ye minister waits on ye Council. Mr. Mason and Randolph propose yt he may have one of ye three houses to preach in. That is denyed; and he is granted the east end of ye Town House, where the Deputies used to meet, until those who desire his ministry shall provide a fitter place." "Sabbath Decr. 19," [mentions Sir Edmund Andros' arrival in the harbor.] "Monday, Dec. 20th." [describes the Governor's landing, publishing his commission, swearing the Council, &c. Then adds,] "It seems speaks to ye ministers in the Library abt. accomodation as to a Meetinghouse, yt might so contrive the time as one house might serve two assemblies." "Tuesday Decr. 21. There is a meeting at Mr. Allen's of ye ministers and four of each congregation, to consider what answer to give to ye Govr.; and 'twas agreed yt could not with a good conscience consent yt our Meetinghouses should be made use of for ye Comonprayer worship." "Decr. 22. In ye evening Mr. Mather and Willard thorouly discourssed his Excellency about ye Meetinghouses, in great plainess, shewing they could not consent. This was at his lodging at Madame Taylor's. He seems to say will not impose." "March 23. The Govr. sends Mr. Randolph for the keys of our Meetingh., that may say prayers there. Mr. Eliot, Frarye, Oliver, Savage, Davis and myself wait on his Excellency, shew that ye land and House is ours, and that we

can't consent to part with it to such use; exhibit an extract of Mrs. Norton's deed, and how 'twas built by particular persons, as Hull, Oliver, £100 a piece, &c." "Friday March 25, 1687. The Govr. has service in ye South Meetinghouse. Godm* Needham, tho' had resolved to the contrary, was prevailed upon to ring ye bell and open ye door, at the Governour's command; one Smith and Hill, joinor and shoemaker, being very busy about it.† Mr. Jno. Usher was there, whether at ye very beginning or no I can't tell." "March 29. N. Last sabbath day, March 27, Govr. and his retinue met in our Meetingh. at eleven; broke off past two, bec. of ye sacrament and Mr. Clark's long sermon, though we were apointed to come half hour past one; so 'twas a sad sight to see how full ye street was with people gazing and moving to and fro, bec. had not entrance into ye house." "Monday, Apr. 4. In ye even. Mr. Willard, Eliot, Frary and self have great debate about our meeting for the Lord's Supper." "Tuesday May 10. Mr. Bullivant having been acquainted that May 15th was our sacrament day; he wrote to Mr. Willard, that he had acquainted those principally concerned, and 'twas judged very improper and inconvenient for the Govr. and his to be at any other house, it being Whitsunday, and they must have ye communion; and yt 'twas expected should leave off by 12, and not return again till they rung ye bell, that might have time to dispose of ye elements. So, remembering how long they were at Easter, we were afraid 'twould breed much confusion in the afternoon, and so, on Wednesday, concluded not to have our sacrament, for saw 'twas in vain to urge their promise." "Wednesday June 1. A private fast of the South Chh. was kept at our house. Mr. Willard pray'd and preach'd in ye morn. Mr. Cotton Mather pray'd first in ye afternoon; Mr. Moody preach'd and pray'd. Mr. Willard dismiss'd with a blessing. Mr. Willard's text, Deut. 32. 36. For the Lord shall judge his people, &c. Mr. Moody's text, Ps. 46. 10. Be still, &c. Occasion of the fast was ye putting off of ye sacrament ye last term, and the difficult circumstances our Chh. in above others, regarding the Chh. of England's meeting in it." "Sabbath June 12. Lord's Super at ye South Chh. But Chh. of England go not to any other house: yet little hindrance to us, save as to ringing the first bell, and straitning ye deacons in removal of ye table." "Octr. 16. Had ye sacrament to-day at ye North Chh. Mr. Ratcliffe also had ye sacrament, and sent to Mr. Willard yesterday to leave off sooner; to which Mr. Willard not consenting, Govr. sent for him in ye night." "Friday Febr. 10, 1687, 8. Between 4 and 5 I went to ye funeral of ye Lady Andros, having been invited by ye Clark of ye South Company. Between 7 and 8, (lychns‡ illuminating ye cloudy air) the corpse was carried into the herse drawn by six horses, the soldiers making a guard from ye Governour's house down ye Prison lane to ye South MHouse; there taken out and carried in at ye western dore, and set in ye alley before ye pulpit, with six mourning women by it. House made light with candles and torches. Was a great noise and clamour to keep people out of ye House, yt might not rush in too soon. I went home. The ministers turn'd in to Mr. Willard's." "Satterday, Apr. 14. Mr. West comes to Mr. Willard from ye Govr. to speak to him to begin at 8 in ye morn., and says this shall be ye last time, they will build a house. We begin about half past 8, yet the people come pretty roundly together. 'Twas Easter-day, and the Lord's Super with us too." "June 25. Mr. Topliff and Mr. Grecian goe to his Excellency, and expostulat with him about his design of meeting first on sabbath-days in our Meetinghouse. Satterday June 23. Capt. Frary and I goe to his Excellency at ye Secretarie's office, and there desir'd yt he would not alter his time of meeting, and yt Mr. Willard consented to no

* Goodman was used as Mr. is now.

† Hutchinson, referring to this proceeding of Andros (i. 356.) says, "He threatened to shut up the doors if he was refused, and to punish any man who gave two pence towards the support of a nonconformist minister." This latter threat and other things of a similar character, it seems, were not wholly without influence, for, says Hutchinson in a note p. 357, "Mr. Willard writes to Mr. Mather (then in England) July 10, 1688, 'Discouragements upon the hearts of the ministers increase, by reason that a licencious people take the advantage of a liberty to withhold maintinance from them.'"

‡ Lychnus, a lamp.

such thing, neither did he consent that 'twas in his power so to doe. Mr. West said, he went not to ask Mr. Willard leave. His Excellency ask'd who the House belong'd to. We told him ye title to ye House was on record. His Excel. turn'd to Mr. Graham, and sd., Mr. Attorney, we will have yt looked into. Govr. sd. if Mr. Willard not ye parson, so great an assembly must be considr'd. We sd. he was master of the assembly, but had no power to dispose of ye House; neither had others, for the deed expressed the use 'twas to be put to. Govr. complain'd of our long staying sabbath-day senight; sd. 'twas the Lord's Super, and had promised to go to some other House on such dayes. Mr. Randolph sd. we knew of no such promise; and the Govr. seem'd angry, and said he would not so break his word for all the Massachusetts colony; and therefore, to avoid mistakes, must give in writing what we had to say. We answered, Mr. Randolph brought not any writing to those he spake to. Govr. sd. we went off from ye Old Chh. against ye governmt, and the land ye House stood on was bought clandestinely, and yt one should say he would defend ye work with his company of soldiers. Mention'd folks backwardness to give, and the unreasonableness, because if any stinking, filthy thing were in the House, we would give something to have it carried out; but would not give to build them an House.* Said, came from England to avoid such and such things, therefore could not give to set ym up here; and ye Bishops would have thought strange to have been ask'd to contribute towards setting up ye New-England Churches. Govr. said, God willing, they would begin at eight in the morning, and have done by nine. We sd. 'twould hardly be so in ye winter. Mr. Graham sd., if they had ye scrvice by candle light, what was that to any; and yt ye service appointed by ye Chh. for morning could not be hd. after noon, Sabbath June 24. They have done before nine in ye morn., and about quarter after one in ye afternoon: so we have very convenient time. July 1. Govr. takes his old time agin, after our coming out, and Sir Wm. Phips' chaplain preaches. We were a little hurried and disappointed in ye morning, ye bell ringing about quarter before nine." "Satterday, Octr. 27. His Excellency goes off to Charlestown, and so to Dunstable." "Oct. 28. Lord's Super at ye South Chh. N. It seems ye Govr. took Mr. Ratcliffe; so met not at all distinct in our House this day. Several of them with us in ye afternoon." [Nov. 22, 1688. Judge Sewall sailed for England, where he remained till after the deposition of Andros.]

Note 28. Page 20.

The quotations in the account I have given of Mr. Pemberton, are from the funeral sermons by Dr. Sewall and Dr. Coleman, and Eliot's and Allen's Biographical Dictionaries. He married, June 12, 1701, "Mrs. Mary Clark," who survived him, and afterwards married Mr. Henry Lloyd of Long Island, father of Dr. James Lloyd of Boston. Mr. P. left four children, three sons and one daughter, descendants of whom are now living, some of them members of the Old South Church.—Judge Sewall's account of the ordination of Mr. Pemberton is as follows. "Wednesday Augt. 28, 1700. Mr. E. Pemberton is ordained. He preached. Then Mr. Willard preached. Mr. Willard gave ye charge. He, Mr. I. Mather and Mr. Allen laid on hands. Mr. I. Mather gave the Right-hand of fellowship. Mr. Wigglesworth and Mr. Torry were in ye pulpit; Mr. Hubbard of Ipswich and many ministers below. A very great assembly. All was so managed as, I hope, does bode well, that the blessing of God will accompany him and us."—Judge Sewall's account of the last sickness, death and burial of Mr. Pemberton is as follows. "1716-17, Feb. 8. Mr. Pemberton

* The Governor probably intended this remark as a hit at Judge Sewall, in allusion to a transaction thus narrated in his journal under a previous date. "March 28, 1688, Capt. Davis spake to me for land to set a Chh. on. I told him could not, would not put Mr. Cotton's land to such an use, and besides 'twas entailed. After, Mr. Randolph saw me, and had me to his house, to see the landscps of Oxford Colleges and halls: left me with Mr. Ratcliffe, who spake to me for land at Cotton Hill for a Chh. wh. were going to build. I told him I could not; first, because I would not set up that which ye people of N. E. came over to avoid, 2dly, ye land was entail'd. In after discourse I mention'd chiefly the cross in baptism, and holy dayes."

is very sick. I visited him in his little bedroom next the study." "Feb. 11. A number of the church meet at Mr. Sewall's, and pray for Mr. Pemberton. Mr. Wadsworth, Dr. Cotton Mather, Mr. Colman, Mr. Webb, Mr. Cooper, Mr. Sewall in the west room. Ps. 41. 1—4. sung." "Feb. 13, Susan brings word yt Mr. Pemberton had a good night, was much better, Yet, after noon, am sent for to him as approaching his end. When come, was finishing his will. Then I went in to him. He called me to sit down by him, held me by ye hand, and spake pertinently to me, tho' had some difficulty to hear him. Mr. Sewall pray'd fervently; and, quickly after, he expired, bolster'd up in his bed, about three quarters past 3 afternoon, in the best chamber. The Lord sanctify it to me and all." "Feb. 18. Mr. Pemberton is buried, between 4 and 5, in Mr. Willard's tomb. Bearers, Mr. John Leverett President, Dr. Cotton Mather, Mr. Wadsworth, Colman, Mr. Sewall, Webb, Dr. Increase Mather."—A list of Mr. Pemberton's publications may be seen in Allen's Biograph. Dict.

Note 29. Page 21.

The votes of the South Church making the offer of the House, &c. to the First Church at this time, are not preserved in the records of the former. They, and the letter which communicated them, were, however, entered on the records of the First Church, where they remain, p. 102. They are as follows.

"*Boston, October* 12, 1711.

"Reverend Gentlemen,

"The church of Christ, which I stand related to, having considered the present dispersion of your flock, through the holy hand of God, in the late desolation of their meeting-house, thought it a proper and necessary expression of their christian love and regards, to yourselves and flock, to pass the votes, a copy of which I now send you, according to their desire, which you may communicate to your church, if you think proper. The votes were passed with the greatest unanimity and readiness. It will be to the last degree pleasing to us to have the advantage of your gifts and graces in every article desired. The last vote, which invites you to administer the special ordinances with us, in your turns, we hope, will be agreeable to your church; for sure we are, it is a point of fellowship justifiable by the first and strictest principles of these churches.

"The allwise God has holy ends, which he is carrying on by the present dark dispensation your people are under; and, if it may but be serviceable to advance the spirit of unity among these churches of Christ in this town, whereby we shall be better qualified for the society of the assembly of the first born above, we shall all have reason to bless and adore the holy providence of heaven.

"May our gracious God speedily and peaceably repair your desolations, building up and beautifying your church with greater measures of his Holy Spirit; may all under your charge be your crown and joy in the day of Christ. This, reverend brethren, shall always be the prayer of your affectionate brother, EBENEZER PEMBERTON.

"At the meeting of the church in the south part of Boston, October 7th, it was voted, that the Rev. Mr. Bridge and Mr. Wadsworth, pastors of the First Church in Boston, be desired, during the present dispersion of their flock, to carry on alternately one half of the work of preaching in this congregation.

"That the deacons of this church make the same weekly allowance to them for this service, that they do to our own pastor.

"That the Rev. Mr. Bridge and Mr. Wadsworth be desired also to take their turns in the administration of baptism and the Lord's supper with us.

EBENEZER PEMBERTON."

Note 30. Page 21.

For accounts of this distinguished and truly excellent man the reader is referred to Eliot and Allen, and to Mr. Prince's funeral sermon. He was a son of Henry Sewall, who came to this country in 1634, and made a plan-

tation at Newbury. Samuel was graduated at Harvard College in 1671, where he continued to reside for some time after, studying theology. It appears from his journal that he preached a few times, and was invited to Woodbridge, a town in New Jersey which had been settled by emigrants from Newbury, to become their minister; but he was, says Mr. Prince, "by the call of Providence, diverted from the service of the Christian tabernacle." By his marriage, to the only child of Mr. John Hull, he obtained an ample fortune, which, with his civil influence, Mr. Prince says, he employed "for the glory of God and the advantage of men." He was chosen an Assistant, and therefore, *ex officio*, judge of the superior Court, in 1684, and continued in those offices till the new government was instituted in 1686. In 1692 he was appointed in the new charter one of the Council, in which station he continued till 1725. He was made one of the judges in 1692, and chief justice in 1718, of the Superior Court, and judge of probate for Suffolk in 1715. These offices he resigned in 1728. He was "eminent for piety, wisdom and learning;" and "in all the relations of life he exhibited the Christian virtues, and secured universal respect." "He was constant in his attendance on public worship," and on private religious meetings, and on the duties of family and secret devotion. He was distinguished in his day for his compassion towards the Indians and the Negroes. As one of the Commissioners for the Society in England for Propagating the Gospel, he exerted himself much for the promotion of the Christianizing of the Natives, whom, he was somewhat inclined to believe descendants of the Ten tribes. Of his own substance, he built the praying Indians (at Natick, I believe) a House of worship, which gave Cotton Mather, in his Magnalia, occasion to apply to him the words of the Elders of the Jews concerning the centurion, John 7. 5. "He loveth our nation, and hath built us a synagogue." He uniformly espoused the cause of the Indians in the Council, when the government seemed ready hastily or unjustly to make war against them, or to carry any oppressive measure in relation to them into effect;* and they are often mentioned, in the records of his private fasts, as subjects of his prayers. He reprobated the practice of enslaving Negroes, and, some time between 1700 and 1710, published a book or pamphlet, entitled "The Selling of Joseph," in which he advocated the rights of this much abused portion of our race. He also published "An Answer to Queries respecting America, 1690; Proposals touching the Accomplishment of the Prophecies, 4to. 1713; and Phœnomina Apocalyptica, &c., or a description of the new heavens and the new earth, 4to. 2d. edit. 1727.—He made a profession of religion July 8, 1677; joining the South Church, of which he continued a member, and "one of its greatest ornaments," till his death, Jan. 1, 1730. He left seven manuscript volumes of a journal and copies of letters, from which, as the reader has observed, I have derived material aid in preparing this sketch, and which have been of great use to several of our antiquaries and historians. His descendants are numerous, some of them still connected with the Old South Church, of which one was long a pastor, and two have been deacons, viz. his grandson, Samuel Sewall, and his great, great grandson, the late Josiah Salisbury. It is worthy of remark that, from 1692, the date of the charter of William and Mary, to 1814, a period of 122 years, a seat in the Supreme Court of Judicature in Massachusetts has been occupied by some member of this family 84 years, viz. by Samuel, eldest son of Henry Sewall, as already described, 36 years; by Stephen, son of Stephen, youngest son of Henry, appointed judge 1739, and died chief justice 1760, 21 years; by David, grandson of John, second son of Henry, appointed judge 1777, and resigned 1790, when he was made Judge of the District Court of the United States, which office he held till 1818, 13 years; and by Samuel, great grandson of Samuel, eldest son of Henry, chosen judge in 1800, chief justice early in 1814, and died suddenly in June of that year, while holding Court at Wiscasset, Me., 14 years: in all, 84 years. To this it may be added that Jonathan Sewall, a descendant of Stephen, second son of Henry, was appointed Attorney General of Mass., in 1767, which office he held till he left the country, a refugee, about 1775; he was

* See Hutch. ii. 269.

afterwards appointed chief justice of the King's court in Lower Canada, which station he held till his death, and has been succeeded in it by his son.

Note 31. Page 22.

The quotations in the account I have given of Dr. Sewall are from Eliot and Allen. Dr. Chauncey preached his funeral sermon, which was published. The following particulars in addition to those mentioned in the sermon will be interesting to the reader. His baptism is thus noticed in his father's journal. "1688, Augt. 19th. In ye afternoon Mr. Willard, after sermon, baptized my young son; whom I named Joseph, in hopes of the accomplishment of the prophecy, Ezek. 37th, and such like, and not out of respect to any relation, or other person, except ye first Joseph."—He joined the church at Cambridge, while residing at the college. Of his private journal at least five volumes are preserved, four 12mo. in the Old South library, and one 4to. belonging to his descendant, the Rev. Samuel Sewall of Burlington. Of his ordination the following account is given in his father's journal. "1713. Sept. 16. Was a very comfortable day for the ordination. Begun a little after ten m. Dr. Cotton Mather begun with prayer, excellently; concluded about ye bell-ringing for eleven. My son preached from 1 Cor. iii. 7. 'So then neither is he that planteth any thing,' &c. Was a very great assembly. Were Elders and messengers from 9 churches, North, Old, Colman's, Cambridge, Charlestown, Roxbury, Dorchester, Milton, Weymouth. Twelve ministers sat at the table by the pulpit. Mr. Pemberton made an august speech, shewing the validity and antiquity of New-English ordinations. Then, having made his way, went on, ask'd, as customary, if any had to say agt. ye ordaining the person. Took the Ch's hand vote. Ch. sat in the gallery. Then declared, the Elders and messengers had desired the ministers of Boston to lay on hands. (Mr. Bridge was indisposed and not there.) Dr. Increase Mather, Dr. Cotton Mather, Mr. Benjamin Wadsworth, Mr. Ebenezer Pemberton, and Mr. Benjamin Colman laid on hands. Then Mr. Pemberton prayed, ordained, and gave the charge, excellently. Then Dr. Increase Mather made a notable speech, gave the right-hand-of-fellowship, and prayed. Mr. Pemberton directed the three and twentieth psalm to be sung. The person now ordained dismissed the congregation with blessing. The chief entertainment was at Mr. Pemberton's; but was considerable elsewhere, two tables at our house."—In 1731 the Rev. Mr. Sewall received the degree of doctor of divinity from the university of Glasgow, and was appointed a corresponding member of "the Society in Scotland for Promoting Christian Knowledge." He was also appointed one of the commissioners, by the hon. corporation in London "for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England and parts adjacent." He was a fellow of the corporation of Harvard College from 1728 to 1765. He was married, Oct. 29, 1713, to "Mrs. Elizabeth Wally," who died before her husband. Only one of his children survived him, a son, Samuel, who was a deacon of the Old South Church from 1763 to 1771.—A list of Dr. Sewall's publications may be seen in Allen's Biograph. Dict.

Note 32. Page 23.

This portion of Mr. Prince's library was "delivered over to the Historical Society, to be, by them, carefully kept in their room in Boston, and under their care, for the use of the Old South Church and Society, said Historical Society and the public, upon the terms and conditions following, viz. 1. Said Tracts, Manuscripts and Treatises shall always be kept by said Historical Society safely, in apartments by themselves in their room in Boston, and a fair record of the disposition and situation of the same so kept by said Historical Society that the said Old South church and society may always know where, and in what situation, the same are, and may always have access to said record. And over the place where the said Tracts, Manuscripts and Treatises are or shall be kept, the said Historical Society shall always keep inscribed, in fair legible letters, the following inscription, 'The Donation of the Rev. Mr. Prince to the Old South Church and Society.' 2. The Pastor or Pastors of the Old South

church and society shall, at all times hereafter, have a right and liberty to inspect or use, or take away for inspection or use, any of said Tracts, Manuscripts or Treatises, leaving a receipt for the same with said Historical Society, to return the same after the purpose for which the same were taken away has been answered. And any member of the said Old South church and society shall have like right and liberty, under like conditions and for like purposes, producing to said Historical Society a written order therefor signed by the pastor or pastors of the said Old South church and society. 3. The Old South church and society shall, at any time hereafter, have a right to receive and take back from said Historical Society said Tracts, Manuscripts and Treatises, whenever, by their vote, at any meeting of said church and society, they shall so vote and determine." Records of the Old South church and congregation, vol. 1, p. 238.

NOTE 33. PAGE 23.

At the same meeting the church and congregation voted, "That yese Psalms be sung without reading line by line as has been usual; except on evening lectures and on extraordinary occasions wn ye assembly can't be generally furnished with books."—The title of this book is as follows, "The Psalms, Hymns and Spiritual Songs of the Old and New Testament, faithfully translated into English metre. Being the New England Psalm Book revised and improved; by an endeavour after a yet nearer approach to the inspired original, as well as to the rules of poetry. With an addition of fifty other Hymns on the most important subjects of Christianity; with their titles placed in order, from the fall of angels and men to heaven after the General Judgment."—The first settlers of New England used Sternhold and Hopkins' Version of the Psalms. With this, however, the ministers were not satisfied, "not so much," says Neal, "on account of their poetry, as because they had perverted the text in a great many places." The ministers, therefore, "set themselves," says Mr. Prince in the preface to his Revisal, "to translate the Psalms and other Scripture Songs into English metre, as near as possible to the inspired original. They committed this work especially to the Rev. Mr. Richard Mather of Dorchester, the Rev. Mr. Thomas Weld and the Rev. Mr. John Eliot of Roxbury; well acquainted with the Hebrew, in which the Old Testament, and with the Greeke, in which the New, were originally written. They finished the Psalms in 1640; which were first printed by Mr. Day, that year, at our Cambridge; and had the honour of being the *first book* printed in North America, and, as far as I find, in this whole new world. I have seen another edition in 1647, (and I conclude at Cambridge too, there being no other press in New England then,) with some amendments. But for a further improvement it was committed to the Rev. Mr. Henry Dunstar, President of Harvard College, one of the greatest masters of the Oriental languages that has been known in these ends of the earth; who was helped as to the poetry by Mr. Richard Lyon, an ingenious gentleman, probably brought up at one of the universities in England, sent over by Sir Henry Mildway as a tutor to his son at Harvard College, and resided in Mr. Dunstar's house. In two or three years they seem to have completed it, with the addition of the other songs in Scripture. And they not only had the happiness of approaching nearer to the inspired original than all other versions in English rhyme, but in many places of excelling them in simplicity of style, and in affecting terms, being the words of God which more strongly touch the soul. On which accounts I found in England it was by some eminent congregations preferred to all others in their public worship, even down to 1717, when I last left that part of the British kingdom." Of the character of this version Neal speaks thus in his History of New England published in 1719. "After all, if we compare it with those that have since been published in the world, it must be acknowledged to be a mean performance. It keeps pretty close indeed to the English prose, but has very little beauty or elegance in it; the lines being frequently eke'd out with a great many insignificant particles, for the sake of the rhyme; and 'tis but a weak apology that the translators offer for themselves when they say that 'we must consider that God's altar needs not our polishings,' as if it were more eligible to sing the praise

of God in barbarous verse, than in more exact and elegant composures." (i, 207.) And Mr. Prince in his preface speaks of the New England Version as in danger of being "wholly laid aside in our churches, on account of the flatnesses in divers places."—He thus describes the method he pursued in performing his "Improvement." "I. I collected all the different versions in English metre I could find, which are above 30, and I think all but 2; and comparing the 1st Psalm in them, both with the prose version in our English Bibles and with the Hebrew, I found about 20 took too great liberty to vary from the original; and selected 12, including the New England, as keeping nearer; to which I added another chiefly for some of the poetry. II. My endeavour then was to gain *all* the *sentiments*, especially the great, sublime and most important in the original. And in order to this, 1st. I read over the whole Psalm in our English Bible, with the instructive margin. 2d. I labored to put myself in the same external circumstance and internal case, and to have the same sensations and views, with the Psalmist. 3d. I read every verse (1) in the said English Bible: and, having the Polyglot Bible before me, (2) in the Hebrew with Montanus' Interlineary, (3) the Septuagint, (4) the Chaldee, (5) the ancient Latin, (6 and 7) the Latin versions of the Syriac and Arabic, (8) Castalio, (9) Tremelius and Junius, (10) Ainsworth, (11) De Muis. 4th. When I met with difficulty, I searched the following famous Lexicons, (1) Avenarius, (2) Schindler, (3) Pagnine and Mercer, (4 & 5) Buxtorf's 2 Lexicons, viz. Hebrew and Chaldaic, &c. (6) Leigh, (7) Castellus, (8) Bythner, (9) Martin Albert. As also the interpretations of Moller, Tremelius, Glassius, Ainsworth, De Muis, Hammond, Pool's Synopsis, Patrick, and others. All this only to gain the *sentiments;* and then, III. I looked into the New England as the groundwork, and then into the 12 other metrical versions in their order, and comparing them; in honour to the word of God, which demands the best, I tho't it my duty to use the best words or lines in them so far as they give the nearest sense of the original and are most musical, and when they fail in either, to endeavor a further improvement." The words JAH, HALLELUJAH, AMEN, when they occur in the original, he carefully preserves. The word Jehovah, he always writes either JEHOVAH or LORD, in large capitals. Wherever the word *Adonai*, whose proper meaning is expressed by the word *Lord*, occurs in the original, he inserts *Lord*, in Italic. Wherever is the word ELOHIM, he always writes GOD or GODS in capitals; and for the other names of God, as EL and its derivatives, he writes God, in Roman characters and not in capitals; and wherever the word MESSIAH occurs in the Hebrew, he retains the word, or inserts CHRIST. He has also inserted notes, "some for the satisfaction of the learned, the rest for the instruction of others, that they may not sing in uncertainty or meer amusement, but with understanding. A star * signifies—*It is so in Hebrew according to all the Lexicons.* In such marks as these [] are brief explications I tho't convenient to be inserted for the clearer view of the sense, as in some titles &c." He began the work April 29, 1755, and "thro' multitudes of avocations, interruptions and infirmities," finished it March 20, 1757. I have found in the Old South library, and there now lies before me, the very copy of the New England version which he made use of in preparing his Improvement, with the various changes he made written with a pen.†—I have inserted the above account of Mr. Prince's Improvement, not only because it was proper to give the reader some knowledge of a book once used in the praises of this congregation, but also and chiefly to exhibit its wonderful author. With such carefulness, fidelity and patience did he prosecute all his studies. His industry was perfectly astonishing. The labor of preparing his Chronological History was enough for one diligent student during many years; most of the books in his immense library contain notes, which indicate that he had read them; he kept up a familiarity with ancient and modern languages; constantly carried on a very extensive correspondence; his sermons were all written out with care, and he performed his full share of other ministerial duties. Says Dr. Chauncey in his "Sketch of eminent Minis-

† This Improvement of Mr. Prince was used in public worship by the Old South Society till October 1786, when Watts was substituted.

ters in N. E." (1 Mass. Histor. Collections, x, 164.) speaking of Mr. Prince, "I do not know of any one that had more learning among us, excepting Doct. Cotton Mather; and it was extensive, as was also his genius. He possessed all the intellectual powers in a degree far beyond what is common. He may be justly characterized as one of our great men; though he would have been much greater, had he not been apt to give too much credit, especially to surprising stories. Another imperfection that was really hurtful to him was, a strange disposition to regard more, in multitudes of instances, the circumstances of things, and sometimes minute and trifling ones, than the things themselves. I could, from my own acquaintance with him, give many instances of this. But, these things notwithstanding, he deserves to be remembered with honor."

NOTE 34. PAGE 24.

The quotations in the account of Mr. Prince are from Dr. Sewall's funeral sermon; and from Eliot and Allen. He was born at Sandwich, May 15, 1687. Allen in his Biograph. Dict. says he was a descendant of Thomas Prince, sometime governor of the Plymouth colony; but this is an error. There now lies before me a manuscript volume of the Rev. Mr. Prince, in which he gives his descent as follows: he was the fourth son of Samuel Prince, Esq. of Sandwich, who was son of Elder John Prince of Hull, who came over in 1633, settled first at Watertown, and was the eldest son of the Rev. Mr. John Prince of East Shefford in Berkshire in England, who "was born of honorable parents, educated in the university of Oxford, was one of the Puritan ministers of the Church of England, who in part conformed, and found great friends to protect him in omitting the more offensive ceremonies as long as he lived."

The churches invited to assist in Mr. Prince's ordination were "the Old Chh., the North Chh., the Chh. in Brattle Street, and the New North Chh. of this town, the Chh. in Charlestown, the Chh. in Cambridge, and the First Chh. in Roxbury." The account of the ordination in Judge Sewall's journal is as follows. "1718, Octr. 1. Ordination of Mr. Thomas Prince. Mr. Wardsworth began with prayer, very well, about ½ past ten. Mr. Prince preached from Heb. 13: 17. Mr. Sewall prayed. Dr. Incr. Mather ask'd if any had to object; ask'd the Chh. vote, who were in the gallery fronting the pulpit; and ask'd Mr. Prince's acceptance of ye call. Dr. Increase Mather, Dr. Cotton Mather, Mr. Wardsworth, Colman, Sewall, lay yr hands on his head. Dr. Incr. Mather prays, gives the charge, prays agen. Dr. Cotton Mather gives the right hand of fellowship. Dr. Incr. Mather, when he declared whm. the Elders and messengers had appointed to do it, said it was a good practise. Sung Psal. 68. 17—20; and Mr. Prince gave the blessing."—Mr. Prince was married Oct. 30, 1719, to "Mrs. Deborah Denny," who survived him, and died June 1, 1766. Of their children, one son and two daughters arrived at maturity, but only one of these, a daughter, survived their father, or was married, viz. Sarah, who, in 1759, married Mr. Gill, afterwards Lieut. Governor, and died in August 1771, without children. A list of Mr. Prince's publications is given in Allen's Biog. Dict.

NOTE 35. PAGE 25.

"People," says Mr. Prince (ii, 381.) "were then generally frighted, and many awakened to such a sense of their duty as to offer themselves to our communion; yet very few came to me then under deep convictions of their unconverted and lost condition: nor did those who came to me then, come so much with the enquiry, What shall we do to be saved? as to signify they had a sense of their duty to come to the Lord's table, that they dare not stay away any longer." And such laxness had then become prevalent among the best ministers and churches in regard to admission of members, that those who applied for admission with these views were received. Mr. Prince's views on the subject are thus stated by himself, Christ. Hist. ii, 396. "As to my own opinion, It seems to me, that where there is a thirst for Christ and his spiritual benefits, that thirst is raised by the Spirit of Christ: And in raising such a thirst, he qualifies for them, shows his readiness to satiate it, invites, requires, and gives sufficient grounds for coming to him at these

pipes of living waters; tho' we mayn't be sure whether this thirst arises from a renewed heart or no: and thither therefore should we come with a humble sense of our emptiness and unworthiness, and with our thirsty souls reaching forth to Him, to receive from his open, offered and overflowing fulness. If I am mistaken, I desire to see it."—Mr. Prince mentions (pp. 388, 389,) other scenes of terror, which were followed with scarcely any permanent religious impressions. "On friday night July 30, 1742, at the lecture in the South Church, near nine o'clock, being very dark, there came on a very terrible storm of thunder and lightning: And, just as the blessing was given, an amazing clap broke over the church with piercing repetitions, which set many a shrieking, and the whole assembly into great consternation: God then appeared 'terrible out of his high places; they heard attentively the noise of his voice, and the sound that went out of his mouth; he directed it under the whole heaven, and his lightning to the ends of the earth; after it a voice roared, he thundered marvellously with his voice; and at this the hearts of many (as Elihu's) trembled, and were moved out of their places,' for near two hours together. And yet, in all these displays of the majesty of God, and terrifying apprehensions of danger of sudden destruction, neither in this surprising night, nor in all the course of thirty years, [during which he had before said he had been a constant preacher in Old England and New, and those who heard him had passed under many scenes of most dreadful tempests of thunder and lightning], have I scarce known any, by these kinds of terrors, brought under genuine conviction. And what minister has a voice like God, and who can thunder like him?* So on Lord's day, June 3d last [1744] in our time of publick worship in the forenoon, when we had been about a quarter of an hour in prayer, the mighty power of God came on with a surprising roar and earthquake; which made the House, with all the galleries, to rock and tremble, with such a grating noise as if the bricks were moving out of their places to come down and bury us: which exceedingly disturbed the congregation, excited the shrieks of many, put many on flying out, and the generality in motion. But tho' many were greatly terrified, yet in a day or two their terrors seem'd to vanish, and I know of but two or three seized by convictions on this awful occasion."

Note 36. Page 26.

Dr. Sewall gives, in his journal, the following account of this solemnity. "This day was observ'd as a day of prayr. by the South Chh. and Congregn., to humble ymselves before ye Ld. and ask his presence in ye difficult and momentous affair in wch yy are engag'd. A. M. Mr. Foxcroft began with prayr., P. M. Mr. Colman. A. M. Mr. Prince preach'd from Lam. 3. 41. I prchd. P. M. from Ps. 127. 1. I hope we had ye tokens of G.'s gracious presence with us. Ye congregation generally attended, and many others with ym. I hope G. enabled me, in publick and private, to look earnestly to him ys day. O L'd. hear, forge. and doe as ye matter may require."

Note 37. Page 27.

The annexed draft is a copy of a plan of the "Pues on ye Lower flore in ye Metting House," evidently drawn soon after the building was finished and the pews sold. Besides what is printed in this draft, in the original are marked the dimensions and the price of each pew. The following extract from the church records will further assist the reader in forming a conception of the disposition of the congregation in the new edifice. "At a meeting of the South Church in their Brick Meeting House,† Augt. 5,

* He is replying to the objection to the revival, that the alleged convictions were mere "religious frights or fears, produced by the mere natural or mechanical influence of terrible words, sounds and gestures, moving tones, or boisterous ways of speaking;" which he answers by showing that "conviction is quite another sort of thing."

† This was the first church meeting of which there is any record after the occupancy of the new House.

PLAN OF THE LOWER FLOOR OF THE OLD SOUTH MEETING HOUSE, IN BOSTON, 1730.....Dimensions, 88 by 61 feet.

Gallery | Scolly. | Name illegible. | Dupe. | Mr. Wells. | S. Gerish. | Mr. Frail. | PULPIT. | Prince. | Vanse. | Hunt. | Hincham. | Tayer, &c. | Hubbard, &c.

Stairs. | Kinsell & Rand. | Name illegible. | Brandon. | A. Oliver. | Thatcher. | Elders' Seat. | Cotton. | Bream. | Diming. | Blak. | Trescot. | Green, &c.

Rand. | Goffe. | Cushing. | Winslow. | Col. Fitch. | Ministry. | Deacons' Seat. | Ministry. | Oliver. | Osborn. | Durant. | D. Loring. | Brattle, &c.

Armitage. | Gerish, &c.

J. Winslow. | Name illegible. | Lewis. | Willard. | Hubard. | Foster.

Sewall. | A. Savage. | Bethune. | Saltonstal. | Johnson. | Allen.

6 Foot. DOOR. | H. Savage. | Kilby. | Loring. | Mulbury. | 4 Foot DOOR. | Fosdick.

Ellery. | Belknap. | Frost. | Franklin, &c. | Marshall. | Malum, &c. | Goodwin, &c. | Wentworth. | Ireland. | Fayerweather.

Sewall. | Pemberton.

Pemberton, | Mason. | Dn. Williams. | Elliot. | J. Winslow. | Gibbs. | Clark. | Simson. | Davis. | Walker. | Hitchborn. | Clark.

Gallery | Borland.

Wardwel. | Dolbaer. | Gibbin. | Stoddard. | Walley. | Bromfield. | Governor. | DOOR 6 Foot. | Prout. | Foy. | Rand. | Cunningham. | Holioke. | Elliot. | Bonner.

Stairs.

1730. Voted that the deacons be desir'd to procure some suitable person to take the oversight of the children and servants in the galleries, and take care that good order be maintained in time of divine worship; and that a sufficient reward be allow'd for the encouragt. of such a person."

Many of the readers of this sketch will remember that in the diary of the excellent *David Brainerd* is the following entry, made during his visit to Boston a short time before his decease. "Lord's day, July 19, [1747.] I was just able to attend public worship, being carried to the house of God in a chaise. Heard Dr. Sewall preach, in the forenoon: partook of the Lord's supper at this time.....In the afternoon, heard Mr. Prince preach." During this visit, the reader will be gratified with knowing, this holy and devoted missionary was kindly entertained at the house of Mr. Bromfield, then a highly respectable member of the Old South Church; and on the Sabbath referred to in the above extract, Brainerd sat in his pew, which was the second wall pew on the left from the Milk Street door.

Note 38. Page 28.

The notices of this visit in Dr. Sewall's journal are as follows. "1740. Septr. 18. In ye eveng. the Rev. Mr. Whitefield came to town. 19. He preach'd at Dr. Colman's; wth us 20d, with great fervour. P. M. in ye comn. 22. A. M. at Mr. Webb's. P. M. yre was a vast assembly at Mr. Checkley's to hear him; but were thrown into great confusion from a groundless imaginn. yt ye galleries gave way. Several were trod to death as the croud press'd out of ye house. 3 died almost presently; 2 since of yr wounds. I think a lad jump'd out of ye window, and was kill'd by ye fall. Others are grievously wounded. O Ld sanctify ys awful rebuke. Mr. W. preach'd in the comon. 28. Ld's day. Mr. Whitefd., havg. contind. preachg. twice a day, somets, abroad, somets. in ye M. houses, preach'd agn. for us, A. M., from Luke 19. 8, 9; wn, after service, yre was a collection made for his Orphan House, amounting to ye sum of £544. P. M. at Dr. Colman's, and a collection £470. O Ld. accept the offerings of yy people! 29. Mr. Whitefield left ye town, preachg. twice a day as he went to York; preaching also, and collecting, upon his return. Octr. 7, Mr. W. preach'd at ye New North, collected £420. 9d. In our Meeting House, while Mr. Webb, whose was ye lecture, in ye old—so grt were ye numburs. 20. P. M. in ye comon, £200 collected. N. B. He preach'd my lecture a fortnight before in ye usual place. 12. Ld's day, for us, A. M. fr. Jer. 23.6, grt. assembly. In ye evng. Mr. W.field preach'd his farewell sermon in ye comon. fr. Phil. 1. 27, 8, to a vast assembly, suppos'd to be 20,000 or more. Blessed be G., I hear of no hurt receiv'd, saving one or two fainting. 13d. He left the town. It is wonderful to behold a young man (abt. 26) preaching thus twice a day, wth grat earnestness, the Gospel of Christ. Many, partly among ye youth, seem to be affected. O let good impressns, be fix'd, and issue in a sound conversion. Let not our goodness be as ye morng. cloud! O God, humble and quicken me! Enable me, yy ministers, yy people, to improve aright this extraordinary dispensation! O revive yy work among us! Save yy people! I hope some of Mr. W. discourses were very affecting to me. O Ld. teach me, yy people, to profit!"

Note 39. Page 29.

The history of the termination of this revival in Boston in 1740—42, is exceedingly instructive.* It continued, says Mr. Prince, to "go on as above described, without any lisp, as I remember, of a separation either in this town or province, for above a year and a half after Mr. Whitefield left us, till the end of June 1742." In that month the Rev. Mr. Davenport of Long-Island, a chief promoter of the disorderly practices fallen into by a portion of the professed friends of the revivals of that period,† came into this part of the country. He arrived at Charlestown, friday evening June 25. "Lord's

* Christian History ii. 406, 407, 414.

† He afterwards deeply lamented his errors, and published his "retractation." See Christian History ii. 236.

day forenoon, he attended the public worship, and at the Lord's Table, there; but the afternoon, stay'd at his lodgings, from an apprehension of the ministers being unconverted, which greatly alarmed us. Monday afternoon he came over the ferry to Boston." Instead of taking no notice of him, and thus effectually discountenancing his irregularities, the ministers of Boston, with the best intentions but most unhappily, pursued a course in regard to him which at once attracted universal attention to him, awakened a general desire to see and hear him, and contributed to procure for him sympathy as a persecuted man. Being together at their regular Associational meeting on the afternoon that Mr. Davenport came over to Boston, they "sent to signify that they should be glad to see him; whereupon he presently came, and they had long and friendly conferences with him about his conduct, on that and the following day. On thursday July 1., they thought themselves obliged to *publish* a declaration of their judgment concerning him;" in which, while they "own'd that he appeared to them to be truly pious, and they hoped that God had used him as an instrument of good to many souls," they bore their "testimony against" him in several "particulars," on account of which, they declared that they "judged their present duty not to invite him into their places of public worship." The result, as described by Mr. Prince was, what it is very strange men of so much sagacity did not anticipate. "Upon publishing this declaration on friday, many were offended: And some days after, Mr. Davenport thought himself oblig'd to begin in his public exercises to declare against us also; naming some as unconverted, representing the rest as Jehoshaphat in Ahab's army, and exhorting the people to separate from us: which so diverted the minds of many from being concern'd about their own conversion, to think and dispute about the case of others, as not only seem'd to put an awful stop to their awakening, but also on all sides to roil our passions, and provoke the Holy Spirit, in a gradual and dreadful measure, to withdraw his influence. And now a small number from some of our churches and congregations withdrew, and met in a distinct society. The cry, What shall I do to be saved? soon ceased to be heard. But few were added to the churches. The heavenly shower in Boston was over."

Note 40. Page 30.

During the united ministry of Sewall and Prince this church was engaged with others in the discipline of the First Church in Salem. In the Cambridge Platform. Chap. 15. Sect. 2. it is declared, "A third way of communion of churches is by way of *admonition;* to wit, in case any publick offence be found in a church, which they either discern not, or are slow in proceeding to use the means for the removing and healing of.....In which case, if the church that lieth under offence do not hearken to the church that admonishes her, the church is to acquaint other neighbour churches with the offence which the offending church still lieth under, together with the neglect of the brotherly admonition given unto them; whereupon those other churches are to join in seconding the admonition formerly given; and if still the offending church continue in obstinacy and impenitency, they may forbear communion with them, and are to proceed to make use of the help of a Synod or Council of neighbour churches walking orderly (if a greater cannot conveniently be had) for their conviction. If they hear not the Synod, the synod having declared them to be obstinate, particular churches approving and accepting the judgment of the synod, are to declare the sentence of non-communion respectively concerning them;" &c. In 1730 or 31 there arose great difficulties and divisions in the First Church in Salem. Jan. 30, 1733, the Second Church in Boston received a letter from twenty-one brethren, the minority of the church in Salem, entreating said church in Boston to "inquire into the irregularities of the church in Salem, and (if need be) to exercise discipline towards them, as laid down in the Platform." Having considered the subject at two different meetings, the Second Church in Boston voted, Feb. 6, to send a letter to the church in Salem, proposing a conference with delegates of the church in Boston. This letter was not favorably received. Feb. 20, delegates from the church in Boston went to Salem to inquire into

the case, and on the next day signed and delivered a letter of admonition which had been previously approved by the church in Boston. No notice being taken of this letter and the divisions at Salem continuing, the Second church in Boston, April 9, 1734, voted to invite the Third church in Boston, the church at Rumney Marsh, the First church in Gloucester, and the church in Ipswich, to join in seconding their admonition. The first three churches appointed delegates to consider and act on the subject, who met at Salem April 23, and the delegates of the Second church in Boston "laid before them the state of the case, with their proceedings in giving the first admonition." The issue was a second admonition by the four churches. This producing no good effect, the four churches invited seven and twenty churches to unite in a Council "upon this important occasion." Nineteen acceded to the proposal, and sent their pastors and delegates, who met at Salem, July 16. After patient inquiry, the Council declared the previous proceedings to be regular; and being unable to obtain a conference with the pastor and majority of the brethren of the church in Salem, they adopted a letter of advice to them, and adjourned to Oct. 15. At the adjourned meeting, finding that their letter of advice had been without effect, and all conference being still refused by the pastor and majority of the Salem church, the Council came to their result, Oct. 18, in which they "declare and publish, that the First church in Salem is become obstinate and impenitent in scandal, and has justly exposed itself to a sentence of non-communion from our several churches;" adding "that the churches to which we respectively belong may, out of tenderness and compassion, delay to pronounce the sentence of non-communion *for the space of three months* from this our declaration." (See a Faithful Narrative of the Proceedings of the Ecclesiastical Council convened at Salem in 1734.) The churches concerned waited more than three months, but in vain; and at length proceeded formally to withdraw communion from the church in Salem. The votes of this church in taking this step are as follows, "Voted, (1) We approve and accept the judgment and advice of the late Ecclesiastical Council, conven'd in Salem at the desire of this and other churches, given in their result dated Salem, Oct. 18, 1734. (2) Agreeable to the advice of the said Council, we declare the sentence of non-comunion concerning the Revd. Mr. Samuel Fiske and his brethren of the First church in Salem, until they shall betake themselves to the use of proper means of peace and healing, excepting those who are by name excepted in the result aforesaid." The New North church, though it had not been concerned in the previous steps, also passed sentence of non-communion upon the Salem church, Feb. 28, 1735. (Eliot's Notices, p. 17.)

After several years, Mr. Fiske having been dismissed, the church in Salem sent to the churches which had administered this discipline, "a letter of penitent acknowledgment, entreating to be restored to communion;" in consequence of which, the sentence of non-communion was taken off, by the Second church in Boston, Oct. 1745;* by the New North, in the same month; and by this church April 17, 1748.†

The following votes seem worthy of insertion in this place. "At a church meeting, April 5, 1731, Voted (1) That in honour to his Excellency the Governour, there be a decent canopy erected over his pew, and the charge borne out of the church stock. (2) That the committee for building be desir'd to take care of this affair, and see it accomplished as soon as conveniently may be. (3) Whereas the Hon. Col. Fitch hath oblig'd this church with a new sett of Flaggons, Voted, that three of the flaggons formerly used be given to the church in Hopkinton, as a token of our brotherly respect and love." "April 24, 1737. The brethren of the church stay'd, and Voted, that the holy Scriptures be read in public after the first prayr., in the morning and afternoon: and that it be left to the discretion of the pastors, what parts of Scripture to be read, and what to expound." This was doubtless the introduction of the reading of the Scriptures in public worship in this congregation; our fathers having long abstained from the commendable practice, to be, in this respect as in others, as different as possible from the

* Ware's History of the Second Church, p. 52.

† The proceedings of this church in relation to the discipline of the church in Salem, may be seen in vol. i. of its records, pp. 62, 66, 67, 69, 70, 71, 108.

Church of England, which *requires* the Scriptures to be read, and *prescribes the portions for every service.*

Note 41. Page 31.

The churches invited to assist in Mr. Cumming's installation were, "ye Old Chh., ye North Chh., ye Chh. in Brattle Street, ye New North, ye New South, the Revd. Mr. Pemberton's, Mr. Mather's, Mr. Byles' Chhes. in ye town; and ye First Chh. in Cambridge."—Mr. Cumming, after his settlement in Boston, married Miss Goldthwait, daughter of Ezekiel Goldthwait, Esq., many years Register of Deeds for the county of Suffolk.

Note 42. Page 31.

The churches invited to assist in Mr. Blair's installation were, "The Old Church, the North church, the church in Brattle Street, the New South Church, the Revd. Mr. Pemberton's, the New North, Revd. Mr. Mather's, and Dr. Byles' churches, in this town."—Mr. Blair married, in 1769, Miss Susan Shippen, daughter of William Shippen, M. D. the elder, an eminent physician of Philadelphia.

Note 43. Page 33.

The churches invited to assist in this solemnity were, "in this town, the Old church, the North church, the church in Brattle Street, the New South Church, the Revd. Dr. Pemberton's, the New North Church, the Revd. Mr. Mather's, and Doct. Byles'; also the Revd. Mr. Hooker's church at North hampton, and the Revd. Mr. Searle's church at Stoneham."—Mr. Bacon, after his settlement, married the widow of his predecessor, Mr. Cumming. Mr. Hunt was never married.

Note 44. Page 33.

Forty two small folio pages of vol. 2, of the records are occupied with the proceedings of the church in relation to the difficulties between them and Mr. Bacon. In the testimonial given to him after his dismission it is stated, "that the only difference which took place between Mr. Bacon and this church, was that which related to the great doctrine of atonement and imputation, and the practice of administering baptism to the children of parents who own the covenant, but do not join in full communion." He found consciencious difficulties in practicing on the half-way covenant. On the other topic he held the views for a long time past prevalent among the orthodox ministers and churches of New England: the committees of the church, with whom a large majority concurred, in their reports and statements on the subject, advocated limited atonement, and used language in relation to imputation which would seem to imply that they considered the sins of the elect as having been literally transferred to Christ, and his sufferings and obedience literally transferred to believers. That they could have really meant this seems impossible, yet if they did not, there was, in regard to imputation, no real difference between them and Mr. Bacon. A careful perusal of the whole proceedings has strongly impressed my mind with the belief that the facts in the case were, that Mr. Bacon had become unpopular with his people, and that some sermons he preached on atonement and imputation, (from which extracts are given,) were made the occasion of proceedings which led to his dismission.

Note 45. Page 33.

In commemoration of the massacre of the 5th of March 1770, the town of Boston instituted an annual oration, 'Upon the danger of standing armies stationed in populous cities in times of peace,' and among the first orators were such men as Hancock, Warren, Lovel. The subject and the time of delivering this oration were afterwards changed, from 'the danger of standing armies, &c.' to 'the feelings which produced the revolution, &c.,' and from the 5th of March to the 4th of July. Dr. Joseph Warren addressed his fellow citizens twice on this interesting anniversary. The reference in the

sermon is to the second of these orations, delivered March 6th, 1775. "It was at his own solicitation that he was appointed to this duty a second time. Some officers of the British army then in Boston, had publicly declared, that it should be at the price of the life of any man to speak of the event of the 5th of March 1770, on that anniversary. Warren's soul took fire at such a threat so openly made, and he wished for the honor of braving it. This was readily granted. The day came, and the weather was remarkably fine. The Old South Meeting House was crowded at an early hour. The British officers occupied the aisles, the flight of steps to the pulpit, and several of them were within it. The orator, with the assistance of his friends, made his entrance at the pulpit window, by a ladder. The officers, seeing his coolness and intrepidity, made way for him to advance and address the audience. An awful stillness preceded his exordium. Each man felt the palpitations of his own heart, and saw the pale but determined face of his neighbor. The speaker began his oration in a firm tone of voice, and proceeded with great energy and pathos. He commenced with the early history of the country, described the tenure by which we held our liberties and property, the affection we had constantly shewn the parent country, and boldly told them how and by whom these blessings had been violated."* "On the subject of the mischief of standing armies, the most zealous patriot could have wished for no stronger language. He adverted to the case of ancient Rome, and shewed how she had fallen from her height of glory and power, by the means of her mercenary soldiers, until she became the scorn of mankind. From this he passed to the employment of soldiers in modern times; that they were necessarily the enemies of freedom and justice, because the first principle that was taught them is, to obey their officers, without reference to the laws of the land: that every nation which suffered them must be finally corrupted and enslaved. He described the event they were celebrating in the most vivid manner; pictured the actual crime which the military had committed, and the scenes of horror they had almost produced; but that the firmness of the inhabitants had prevented the dreadful scenes that were so near taking place, and procured their dismissal from the town; and that, if it had not been for their humanity, the whole body of troops would have been destroyed. Stronger language could not have been used, if no threats had been uttered, or no English officer been present."† This oration has been often printed, in the American Third Part, &c. In regard to the conduct of the audience during its delivery, the accounts differ. The author of the Life of Otis says, "There was no disturbance, and the oration was delivered without interruption, to an admiring and applauding audience." According to other accounts, there were not only British officers, but also a detachment of soldiers present. Upon the delivery of one of the strongest passages, an officer, standing in the aisle towards the Milk Street door, turned on his heel, and said aloud, 'Fie! Fie!' Great disturbance ensued, the people supposing it was a command to the soldiers to fire. The town clerk, however, (who sat under the pulpit) with his mallet, and the intrepid Samuel Adams, by assuring the citizens that there was no fire but that of liberty which was burning in their own bosoms, soon stilled the audience; and the orator, who had in the mean time stood calm and collected, proceeded without further interruption.

Note 46. Page 33.

Over the grave of Mr. Hunt in the church-yard at Northampton, is a marble monument, on which is the following inscription, "The Rev. John Hunt A. M., Pastor of the Old South Church in Boston. Died Decr. 30, 1775. As an orator, scholar and divine, he gave bright presage of future eminence; and his brief but exemplary life he devoted to the good of his fellow men, until he was summoned to his higher services. By consent of his friends in Northampton, where he drew his first and last breath, the Church and Congregation in Boston, who ordained him Sept. 25, 1771, and whose ornament he shone until death, have raised this memorial of his worth; his more lasting praise in heaven to shine as the stars forever and ever."

* Thatcher's American Medical Biography, 1828, ii, 161.
† Tudor's Life of James Otis, p. 464.

NOTE 47. PAGE 34.

The following anecdote relating to this desecration of the Meeting House is from the "Recollections of a Bostonian," in the Columbian Centinel of Nov. 17, 1821.

"I was told that a ludricous scene took place in the course of the preceding winter. A good old woman that frequently passed the church, was in the habit of stopping at the door, and with loud lamentations, (amidst the hootings of the soldiery) bewailed the desolation of the house of prayer. She denounced on them the vengeance of Heaven, and assured them that good old Dr. SEWALL, the former Parson of the Church, would rise from his grave, and carry them off. A Scotch centinel was one night alarmed by an appearance of what he thought was an apparition of the Doctor. He screamed most violently and alarmed the guard of grenadiers, who were always stationed at the Province-house, then occupied by General HOWE. There was no pacifying him, until some one asked how the Doctor was dressed, and he answered, with a large wig and gown. One of the inhabitants who had been drawn there from curiosity, assured him it could not have been Doctor SEWALL, because he never wore a wig, which restored the poor fellow to his senses. It was generally supposed to be a trick of one of the English soldiers, who wished to frighten a superstitious Scotchman, and for that purpose, had dressed himself in the clerical habit of the Rev. Mr. COOKE, of Menotomy, which he had plundered, on his retreat at the battle of Lexington."

During the revolutionary contest, the British armies, in various places and in a most wanton manner, manifested their hostility to churches not Episcopalian. In this town, their sacrilegious depredations were not confined to the Old South Meeting House, and the other buildings and property of that society. They also "destroyed the steeple of the West Church, because they supposed it had been used as a signal staff. The Old North they took down for the sake of the fuel, of which its massy timber afforded abundance, 'although,' say the records of that church, 'there were then large quantities of coal and wood in the town. The house, which was built in 1677, was in very good repair, and might have stood many years.'" (Hist. of the Second Church, p. 58.) In New York, they used the Middle Dutch Church in Nassau Street as a prison, and afterwards turned it into a riding school. The Presbyterian Church in Wall Street, they converted into barracks, and that in Beekman Street into an hospital. And during the same period the parsonage house of that congregation was burnt. "Of the *nineteen* places of worship in that city, when the war began," said the Rev. Dr. John Rodgers in a thanksgiving sermon in 1783, "there were but *nine* fit for use when the British troops left it. It is true Trinity Church and the Old Lutheran, were destroyed by the fire that laid waste so great a part of the city a few nights after the enemy took possession of it; and therefore they are not chargeable with *designedly* burning them, though they were the occasion of it; for there can be no doubt, after all that malice has said to the contrary, but the fire was occasioned by the carelessness of their people, and they prevented its more speedy extinguishment. But the ruinous situation in which they left two of the Low Dutch Reformed Churches, the three Presbyterian Churches, the French Protestant Church, the Anabaptist Church, and the Friends' new Meeting House, was the effect of design, and strongly marks their enmity to those societies. *Boston, Newport, Philadelphia*, and *Charleston*, all furnished melancholy instances of this prostitution and abuse of the houses of God." See Miller's Life of Dr. Rodgers, p. 234.

NOTE 48. PAGE 35.

The churches invited to meet in Council for the ordination of Mr. Eckley were, "the Old church, the North chh, under the pastoral care of the Revd. Mr. Lathrop, the church in Brattle Street, the New North church, the New South Church, the Revd. Doctr. Mather's, the church under the pastoral care of the Revd. Mr. Wight, and the chh. at Roxbury under the pastoral care of the Revd. Doctor Gordon."—Mr. Eckley married a daughter of the

Hon. David Jeffries, one of the deacons of the Old South Church. Mrs. Eckley deceased in 1825. Three sons survive.

Note 49. Page 35.

The Anthem referred to was composed by William Selby, at that time organist of King's Chapel. The words, of which a part only are quoted in the sermon, are as follows, "Behold, God is my salvation! I will trust, and not be afraid: For the Lord Jehovah is my strength and my song; he also is become my salvation. He hath raised up the tabernacle of David, that was fall'n; he hath closed up the breaches thereof; he hath raised up the ruins; he hath built it as in the days of old, and caused his people to rejoice therein. Praise the Lord, call upon his name, declare his doings among the nations, make mention that his name is exalted. Sing unto the Lord, for he hath done excellent things; this is known in all the earth. Cry out and shout, thou inhabitant of Zion, for great is the Holy One of Israel, in the midst of thee. Hallelujah, for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth. Amen."—Immediately after the delivery of the sermon to which this note is appended, this anthem was repeated.

Note 50. Page 41.

There was another cause, which was not mentioned in the sermon because it never existed in Boston. I refer to *the support of the ministry by taxation on the members of parishes or the inhabitants of towns.** This regulation, with several material modifications, unhappily continues till this day, in reference to the whole commonwealth except Boston and some other populous places. One reason of the exemption of Boston, from the first, from the application of this regulation may be presented in the following extract from Winthrop's Journal. "1639, (3) 2. Mr. Cotton,† preaching out of 2 Kings 8, taught, that when magistrates are forced to provide for the maintenance of ministers, &c., then the churches are in a declining condition. Then he showed, that the minister's maintenance should be by voluntary contribution, not by lands, or revenues, or thithes, &c.; for these have always been accompanied with pride, contention and sloth, &c."—Never did that great man preach sounder and more important doctrine. One pernicious effect of the regulation here referred to must ever be, and in New England it has been, to produce in ministers and churches a feeling of dependence and reliance on the world, instead of upon themselves and their Redeemer. This begets a disposition to temporise, and conform to the views and feelings of worldly men, which gradually eats out the very spirit of religious faith and action, and lowers the standard of religious doctrine and practice. This influence we should expect to see first manifested in the ministers, who are by this arrangement rendered dependent for their support on civil regulations and on the world. And it is a most instructive fact, that in the struggles made previously to 1662, by the world to break down the strict scriptural constitution of the churches, the ministers were generally found taking the lead in favoring the innovation. "Many of the *ministers* and of the people in the country," says Trumbull i. 310, when stating the occasion of the Synod of 1662, "were for extending baptism, according to the determination of the general council in 1657; but the churches were so generally and warmly opposed to it, that it could not be effected without a Synod." And Cotton Mather, speaking of the period subsequent to the Synod, says, Magnalia, book 5. p. 82, "Very gradual was the procedure of the churches to exercise that church discipline of their children which the synodical propositions had recommended. For, though *the pastors were generally principled for it*, yet in very many of the churches, a number of the brethren were so stiffly and fiercely set the other way, that the pastors did forbear to extend their practice unto the length of their judgment, through the fear of uncomfortable schisms which might thereupon

* The first notices I have met with of the commencement of this practice were in 1640, 42. See Winthrop's Journal, ii. 24, and 93, and Hubbard's Hist. p. 412.

† Of whose influence Hubbard testifies "Whatever Mr. Cotton delivered was soon put into an order of Court, if of a civil, or set up as a practice in the church, if of an ecclesiastical concernment."

ensue." But in time the churches were brought over, with their ministers, to the views and wishes of the world.—And at this day, how are faithful ministers and Christians, in many towns and parishes, hampered in their efforts to promote vital religion by this legal dependence on the world? When will Massachusetts fully adopt and practice upon that fundamental principle of civil and religious freedom—an entire separation between church and state? Would she so alter her constitution and laws as to leave religion to its own inherent, vital energy, and the promised blessing of its Author—as to allow every religious society to form itself and continue its own existence, and contract with and support its religious teachers voluntarily, according to the ecclesiastical regulations of the denomination to which it has chosen to attach itself, only establishing and maintaining the validity of contracts thus made just as of other voluntary contracts, and securing to each denomination the unmolested belief and practice of its own freely adopted doctrines and mode of worship and discipline;—she would do more than can be done in all other ways, to separate her civil councils and proceedings from the improper influence of the interests and views of religious sects, and would take the most effectual step she has ever yet taken, having direct reference to religion, for the promotion among her citizens of religious peace and of genuine morality and piety. Every patriot and Christian, of whatever denomination, ought, temperately, but diligently and perseveringly, to labor for the speedy consummation of such a change.

Note 51. Page 41.

"I fear," says Mr. Whitefield in his Journal, "that many [of the ministers] rest in a head knowledge—are close pharisees—and have only a name to live. It must needs be so, when the power of godliness is dwindled away, and the *form* only of religion has become fashionable amongst a people." And again, "Many that preach, I fear, do not experimentally know Christ; though I cannot see much worldly advantage to tempt them to take upon them the sacred function." See Journal at New England, pp. 70, 96. And on his second visit, he found a number of ministers who came to him with thankful acknowledgments that they had been converted by the blessing of God on his preaching when here before. And similar effects attended his preaching during the second visit. In the Christian History, i. 397, 398 may be seen an affecting acknowledgment of this kind by Mr. Porter, then minister of the North parish in Bridgewater. I find too in the controversies of that period about the propriety of pronouncing ministers unconverted, that it seems to have been admitted on all hands that there were a considerable proportion of such in the country.

Note 52. Page 41.

"'Tis now," said Mr. Parsons pastor of the church of the West Parish of Lyme Connecticut, writing to Mr. Prince of Boston in 1744 an account of the recent revival among his people, "'Tis now more than ten years since I have seen cause to renounce *Arminian* principles." See Christian History ii. 123, 124. "About this time," says President Edwards, referring to 1734, "began the great noise, in this part of the country, about *Arminianism*, which seemed to appear with a very threatening aspect upon the interests of religion here." Works, iv. 21. New York, 1830. And in a late review, in the principal Unitarian periodical, Christian Examiner, iv. 480, of "the revival under Whitefield," it is said, "The ministers of Boston seem to have been alarmed at the inroads which Arminianism and Arianism had already began to make in this vicinity."

Note 53. Page 42.

The history of this revival ought to be carefully studied by every minister, and might be profitably read by every Christian, at the present day. The principal works on the subject are, The Christian History, compiled by Mr. Prince of Boston, President Edwards' Thoughts on the Revival in

1740. Trumbull's History of Connecticut, vol. 2, chap. 8. Dwight's Life of President Edwards, chaps. 12—15.

In a manuscript volume of Mr. Prince now lying before me, is a copy of a letter from his daughter Deborah to her aunt Mrs. Sarah Pierson, of Suffolk, England, obtained by her father after her decease, and dated Boston, March 4, 1743; part of which is occupied with an account of this wonderful attention to religion; which, as it is not very long, and gives a very interesting view of the extent and power of the work, as well as of the opposition it encountered, and has never been published, will be here inserted. It is as follows.

"In my last letter to my grandmother, which was above two years ago, I gave some account of the Revival of religion in this town. Since which it has spread from one end of the land unto the other; and that cry, What must we do to be saved? has been made almost universally in many places.

"Without doubt you have heard various reports concerning this glorious appearance, some perhaps greatly to its disadvantage. For it is represented in the most odious colours by its enemies, from the pulpit and press. Some call it the work of the Devil; others, who deny revelation, call it, Distraction; and others represent it as mere Mechanism. And they spare neither cost nor pains to bring others to their various opinions. But He that sits in the heavens laughs at their vain attempts, and often discovers their deep laid plots, and makes them turn out to the advancement of that cause which they so violently oppose.

"But howmuchsoever you have heard of the errors and disorders, I believe the one half of the glory appearing in this land has not been told you. Indeed it is inexpressible; so great, that it is the opinion of many eminent divines, that it is the dawning of that glorious day, when the whole earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea. It seems as if the Lord was hastily calling in his elect. Sometimes a new face of things spreads over a whole town in a week or two's time. Sometimes there has been *an hundred* struck with convictions together in one sermon. Yea, at *Portsmouth*, it was reckoned there was *a thousand* awakened to a deep concern about their souls, in about three days time. And great numbers have come out of their distress, lively, zealous, meek and humble Christians.

"It has been very remarkable at *Middleborough*, where my uncle Thatcher lives; who, before this, was so discouraged with his unsuccessfulness that he was upon the point of leaving his people. Sometimes there would not be above 2 or 3 in a year join to the church: and now, in a little more than half a year, he has taken in 150; the most of whom give a very satisfactory account of the work of God upon their souls. It has been as remarkable in many other places. One minister in the country told my father, that there was not one family in his parts but had one or more in it awakened. Another writes him word that, in another town, there were 200 hopefully converted in two months time. Vast numbers of *Indians* have, to all appearance, been called out of darkness into his marvellous light.

"In this day of great grace, in one place, where great numbers of them live, who would hear nothing of the Gospel, but were most obstinately bent against it, and zealous for the worship of their false gods, when one of our zealous ministers went to preach, at first they were very surly and would hear nothing, but told the minister they did not want him there. But he, inspired with a divine courage and a most ardent love to Christ and their perishing souls, would not leave them so; but, when night came on, laid him down to sleep upon the ground in one of their wigwams. And though he was in danger of being murder'd, and only one Englishman with him, such was his confidence in God, that he slept very securely; and when waked in the middle of the night, by the Indians getting up and coming into the wigwam with their large sticks, only said to his companion, 'Brother, if the Lord has any work for us to do, we are immortal till it is done, and if he has not, they will only give us a sweet push into eternal rest.' But the Lord suffered them not to hurt them. And in the morning, the minister fell to exhorting and pleading with them, with so much ear-

nestness and affection as something moved them; and they told him, if he would go on the side of a hill where there was no snow (it being winter) they would hear him. So he did; and they sent and gathered a great number together. And while he was saying the cxv Psalm, of the vanity of the idols of the heathen, they were convinced that the idols which they and their fathers had worshipped from time immemorial, were no gods, and asked the minister what they must do with them. He told them they must burn them immediately. Some of them ran and fetched four images, which they said they and their fathers had worshipped, and burnt them, with indignation at their own stupidity. By this they were prepared to receive the Gospel; at the preaching of which great numbers were brought under deep conviction of their lost condition by nature, and of their absolute need of Christ. And numbers have attained to a joyful discovery of his all-sufficiency and readiness to save even them, and give a clear and satisfying account of their closing with him by faith: They discover a great distrust of themselves; and, sensible of their own ignorance, are glad of instruction, and very earnest to learn to read, that they may know the will of God in his word. This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes. I could not forbear giving you a particular account of this remarkable occurrence, it was so pleasing. But I must conclude. So numerous are the triumphs of our glorious Redeemer over his enemies in this day of his power and grace, it would fill volumes to be particular."

Note 54. Page 43.

The proofs of the prevalence at the period here referred to, of the prejudices mentioned against experimental religion, and to a great extent of Arminian, and to some extent, though covertly in most instances at the time, of Arian, doctrines, are express and abundant. President Edwards, in his farewell sermon at Northampton in 1750, speaks thus of *Arminianism and doctrines of like tendency*. "The progress they have made in the land within these seven years, seems to have been vastly greater than at any time in the like space before: and they are still prevailing, and creeping into almost all parts of the land, threatening the utter ruin of the credit of those doctrines which are the peculiar glory of the Gospel, and the interests of vital piety." "And if these principles should greatly prevail in this town, as they *very lately have done in another large town I could name, formerly greatly noted for religion, and so for a long time*, [Boston, no doubt,] it will threaten the spiritual and eternal ruin of this people, in the present and future generations." Works, i. 649, 650, New York, 1830. And in the preface, dated May 26, 1757, to the first edition of his treatise on Original Sin, (8vo. Boston, 1758,) referring to Dr. Taylor's book on that subject, which advocated the Arminian or Pelagian doctrine, he says, "No one book has done so much towards rooting out of these western parts of New England the principles and scheme of religion maintained by our pious and excellent forefathers, the divines and Christians who first settled this country, and alienating the minds of many from what I think are evidently some of the main doctrines of the Gospel." "This book has now for many years been spread abroad in the land, without any answer as an antidote; and so has gone on to prevail with little controul." Dr. Bellamy, in 1750, said, in the preface to his "True Religion Delineated," "It has doubtless appeared as a thing strange and dark to many pious persons, and occasioned not a little perplexity of mind, to observe what has come to pass in New England since the year 1740. That there should be so general an outpouring of the Spirit, so many hundreds and thousands awakened all over the country, and such an almost universal external reformation, and so many receive the word with joy; and yet, after all, things come to be as they now are: so many fallen away to carnal security, and so many turned enthusiasts and heretics, and the country so generally settled in their prejudices against experimental religion and the doctrines of the Gospel, and a flood of *Arminianism* and immorality ready to deluge the land." Works, i. 49. And in a letter to Scripturista, published in 1760, and designed as a warning against prevailing errors, he

says, "But perhaps you will say, 'The Calvinists are too suspicious already. There are no Arminians, no Arians, no Socinians, &c. among us. The cry is raised by designing men, merely to answer political ends.' Oh, my good Scripturista. O, that this were indeed the case! O, that our fears were quite groundless! How soon would I believe it, if you could help me to 'see just reason for it.' But how would the party through New England laugh at our credulity in Connecticut, if their friends among us could make us believe all to be safe, till they could carry their points here, as they have elsewhere. In New Hampshire province, this party have actually, three years ago, got things so ripe that they have ventured to new-model our Shorter Catechism; to alter, or entirely leave out, the doctrines of *the Trinity*, of *the decrees*, of *our first parents being created holy*, of *original sin*, Christ *satisfying divine justice*, *effectual calling*, *justification*, *adoption*, *sanctification*, *assurance of God's love*, *perseverance in grace*, &c., and to adjust the whole to Dr. Taylor's scheme. And in their preface to this new catechism they tell the world, that 'The snarling of party bigots will be little regarded;' i. e. if all the Calvinists in the country are disobliged to see their whole scheme given up, *they do not care*. They look upon us all as *snarling bigots*, not to be regarded. This is honest: now they speak their hearts, and tell the world how they feel! Come from New Hampshire along to Boston; and see there a celebrated D. D., at the head of a large party! He boldly ridicules the doctrine of the *Trinity*, and denies the doctrine of *justification by faith alone*, in the sight of all the country, in his book of sermons. Come nearer home," &c. Works, iii. 386, 387.—In the records of the Convention of Congregational Ministers of Massachusetts, is the following entry. Meeting May 31, and June 1, 1758. "A Proposal made by Revd. Dr. Sewall to bear Testimony against the dangerous Errors in Opinion and Corruptions in Practice which are prevailing among us, and to declare our Adherence to the Doctrines of the Gospel as these have been handed down to us by our Fathers in the Confession of Faith owned and consented to by the Elders and Messengers of the Chhs. in New England, May 12, 1680. The Question being put, whether the Convention would act on this Proposal, it passed in ye Negative."—In the Life of the celebrated Dr. Hopkins of Newport, p. 95, is the following statement. "In 1768, a sermon which I preached in the Old South Meeting House in Boston, was published at the desire of a number of the hearers. The title of it is, 'The importance and necessity of Christians considering Jesus Christ in the extent of his high and glorious character.' The text, Hebrews iii. 1. It was composed with a design to preach it in Boston, as I expected soon to go there, under a conviction that the doctrine of *the divinity of Christ was much neglected, if not disbelieved, by a number of the ministers in Boston*."—And in a letter from the late President John Adams to the late Rev. Dr. Morse of Charlestown, dated May 15, 1815, and subsequently published in the Christian Disciple, the writer says, "Sixty five years ago, my own minister, Rev. Lemuel Bryant; Dr. Jonathan Mayhew of the West Church in Boston; Rev. Mr. Shute of Hingham; Rev. John Brown of Cohasset; and, perhaps equal to all, if not above all, Rev. Mr. Gay of Hingham, were Unitarians. Among the laity, how many could I name, lawyers, physicians, tradesmen, and farmers. I could fill a sheet, but at present will only name one, Richard Cranch, a man who has studied divinity and Jewish and Christian antiquities, more than any clergyman now existing in New England. More than fifty six years ago, I read Dr. Samuel Clarke, Emlyn," &c.

Note 55. Page 44.

In the summer of 1747, the excellent David Brainerd, as already mentioned, spent some time in Boston, with a view to the recovery of his health. While here he says in his Diary, "I had many visitants; with whom, when I was able to speak, I always conversed of the things of religion; and was peculiarly assisted in distinguishing between the *true* and *false* religion of the times. There is scarcely any subject, which has been

matter of controversy of late, but I was, at one time or other, compelled to discuss and shew my opinion respecting it; and that frequently before numbers of people." And his biographer says, "Before he came away, he had occasion to bear a very full, plain and open testimony against that opinion, that 'the *essence* of saving *faith* lies in believing that Christ died for me in particular, and this is the *first* act of faith in a true believer's closing with Christ.' He did it in a long conference he had with a gentleman, who has very publicly and strenuously appeared to defend that tenet." Dwight's Life of Brainerd, pp 409, 413.—Abundant experience has evinced, that this mistaken view of faith tends strongly to produce a practical Antinomianism. It renders the preaching of those who embrace it, almost exclusively what has been often called 'privilege preaching,' in which the obligations of saints and sinners are almost entirely left out of view, and, of course, the truth exhibited is comparatively powerless. It is evident, from the sermons that were published, and from the habitual character of the texts of those not published as preserved in journals, &c., that the preaching of the ministers here, who meant to adhere to the Calvinistic faith, at the time now referred to, was very much of this character. And from Dr. Bellamy we learn that publications tending to the same result, had been extensively circulated, and exerted much influence in New England, before 1759, when he published, in opposition to these views, his "Letters and Dialogues on Theron and Aspasio." With the same views, he published in 1762, a treatise on "The Glory of the Gospel;" and in 1763, "A Blow at the Root of the refined Antinomianism of the present age."

Note 56. Page 45.

The Semi-Arians believed that the Son is, not of the same, but of *like* substance, with the Father, derived or emanating from the Father, possessing all divine attributes except literal self-existence and independence and absolute eternity. The theory of the Rev. Noah Worcester D. D. is substantially the same, viz. that Jesus Christ "is neither the self-existent God, nor a self-existent Person, but a being who properly *derived* his existence and nature from God." Bible News. Third edition, pp. 55, 57. The evidence which has compelled me to conclude, and constrained me in candour to state in the sermon, that Dr. Eckley adopted this scheme is the following. Pages 7 and 8 of the "Address to the Trinitarian Clergy" annexed to the work just referred to, its author, speaking of the reception his book had met with from "Arians and Socinians," says, "others may have been pleased, because they thought my sentiments in the highest degree honorary to the Saviour of the world. This I have abundant reason to suppose was the case with the late Dr. Eckley, whose piety and candour could not secure him from reproach."* To this passage is appended this note. "*Extracts from Dr. Eckley's letter to my brother of Salisbury.* 'My plan, when I saw you, as I think I intimated, respecting the Son of God, was very similar to what your brother has now adopted. The common plan of three self-existent persons forming one *Essence* or infinite *Being*, and one of these persons being *united to a man*, but not in the least humbling himself or suffering, completely leads to and ends in Socinianism; and though it claims the form of *orthodoxy*, it is as a *shadow* without the *substance*; it eludes inspection; and I sometimes say to those who are strenuous for this doctrine, that they take away my Lord, and I know not where they place him.'—'The *orthodoxy*, so called of *Waterland*, is as repugnant to my reason and views of religion, as the *heterodoxy* of *Lardner;* and I am at a loss to see that any solid satisfaction, for a person who wishes to find salvation through the death of the Son of God, can be found in either.'—'I seek for a plan which exalts the personal character and attributes of the Son of God in the

*The connexion in which Dr. Eckley's name is here introduced, fairly implies that Dr. Worcester considered him an Arian or a Socinian. But he was neither; he had swerved from no other article of the orthodox faith but that of the essential divinity of Christ; and in relation to this, his views were not Socinian, nor Arian, but, as stated and the evidence now to be presented compels us to conclude, Semi-Arian.

highest possible degree. The plan which your brother has chosen does this. —The scheme he has adopted affords light and comfort to the Christian. I have long thought so; and I continue to think I have not been mistaken.'— In a letter to myself the Doctor wrote thus, 'What you have admirably well said, Sir, respecting the likeness of a *Son* to his *Father*, and of the Son of God's possessing the same *nature* (of consequence divine) with the Father, resulting from the fact of his being his begotten and *own Son*, is sufficient in my mind as the ground or reason of his exaltation to the high rank you conceive him to hold in the system; *God of God, Light of Light* —to whom the Father hath *given* to have life in himself—to whom he may make all possible communications as to his *own Son*—may give to him all power in heaven and earth, putting all things under him, *but Himself*—seat him at his own right hand on the throne, and command all men to honor him as the angels do in heaven.'—Thus the good man, 'being dead, yet speaketh.' "

NOTE 57. PAGE 45.

Mrs. Mason was the second wife of Mr. Jonathan Mason sometime a deacon of the Old South church. Her mother, the wife of Mr. Hugh Vans a Scotch merchant settled in Boston, was a daughter of the Rev. Mr. Pemberton minister of the Old South. Mrs. Mason was greatly distinguished for intelligent, consistent and devoted piety.

Mrs. Waters was a daughter of Thomas and Sarah Dawes, members of the Old South Church, and was born Jan. 13, 1721. At sixteen years of age, she joined the church of which her parents were members, Feb. 8, 1736; but, as she afterwards had no doubt, was at that time destitute of true piety. "The world was still her idol; the love of self her ruling passion; and she soon relapsed into a state of great stupidity and sloth." She was considerably moved by the preaching of Mr. Whitefield in 1740; and subsequently, under that of Mr. Tennent, was effectually awakened, and brought to a saving knowledge of Christ. She lived, a devoted and exemplary Christian, to near the age of ninety-six, and died Nov. 22, 1816. She was the founder of the female prayer meeting alluded to in the sermon, of which the following account is given in her Memoirs by the late Rev. Mr. Huntington.

"Convinced of the necessity, and utility of prayer; and encouraged by the examples of *union* in this exercise, recorded in the sacred volume; she proposed to several of her young female friends, who were 'partakers of like precious faith' with herself, to appropriate one afternoon of every week to this most delightful purpose. The proposal was gladly embraced.

"Unwilling, however, to act unadvisedly on a subject of so much importance, they applied to their respected pastor, the Rev. Mr. Prince, whose daughter was one of the number, for counsel. Gratified to find they were so piously disposed, he encouraged them to carry their wishes into effect; and assured them of his readiness to give them all the assistance in his power. Desirous of avoiding all ostentation, and as far as possible, publicity, the execution of their purpose was for a considerable time delayed, for want of a suitable place at which to meet. At length, encouraged by the promise, 'if any man lack wisdom, let him ask of God, who giveth liberally and upbraideth not, and it shall be given him;' they set apart a day, on which, unitedly to implore the Divine direction. Immediately after, a striking providence relieved them from their embarrassment, and confirmed their faith in the efficacy of prayer. Miss Dawes, while returning home from the meeting, through Portland street, observed a lady with whom she was unacquainted, beckoning to her to approach. 'I hear,' said she, 'my dear, that you have found Christ.' 'I trust that I have,' was the reply; 'and *He is the chiefest among ten thousand, and altogether lovely.*' 'Come in, come in,' said the lady, 'I want to see and converse with you.' The invitation was readily accepted. Miss Dawes then communicated to her, in compliance with her request, the change through which she had passed; and concluded, with mentioning the purpose, for which she, and her Christian companions had been engaged that afternoon. 'My dear young

friend,' said the lady, 'God has sent you here. I have this day been kneeling in that place (pointing to a stair-case in sight) intreating him to open the way for such a meeting as you contemplate, in my house. I am much confined at home; and of course deprived in a great measure of the privileges which others enjoy, who 'speak often, one to another,' and to God. Nothing could delight me more than to have you convene under this roof. There is but one difficulty which I can think of in the way. My husband, though kind and affectionate to me, is not a man of religion; and may perhaps object. He is out now. But I will ask his consent as soon as he returns, and then let you know the result.' The result was as favorable as could have been desired. A place being now provided for the meeting; the little band, that the design of their union might not in future be frustrated by the admission of unsuitable associates, requested Mr. Prince to draft them a form of covenant, confession of faith, and rules of discipline, which every member should be required to subscribe. This excellent man cheerfully complied with their request; earnestly commending them to 'Him, who despiseth not the day of small things.'

"The society met eighteen years at the house of this pious lady. At the expiration of that time, her husband became dissatisfied; and another place was procured. It was not long, however, before he regretted the removal —confessed that nothing in his worldly affairs had succeeded to his wishes since; and begged that his house might again become an house of prayer. Rejoiced at the change in his mind, the society immediately returned to the place where they at first convened; and which, so many seasons—delightful and refreshing seasons of communion with God, and one another, had endeared. There they continued to meet, until the British took possession of Boston, in 1775, when they were dispersed. After the evacuation of the town, they again assembled as before, though in a different place; and have continued to do so, to the present day; the vacancies occasioned by death, and otherwise, being supplied, and more than supplied, by the addition of new members."

In the time of the revival in 1740—42 many private meetings for prayer and religious conference were instituted, among *males* as well as females, some of which continued till the revolutionary war. At least one composed of male members of the Old South Church, was resumed upon the return of the inhabitants after the departure of the British troops. It was again discontinued after three or four years, and never revived.

Note 58. Page 48.

The churches invited to assist in the ordination of Mr. Huntington were, "the Congregational churches in this town; the church at New Haven, under the patoral care of the Rev. Doct. Timothy Dwight; the church at New London, under the pastoral care of the Rev. Abel McEwen; the church at Goshen, under the pastoral care of the Rev. Asahel Hooker; the church at Charlestown, under the pastoral care of the Rev. Doct. Jedediah Morse; and the church at Roxbury, under the pastoral care of the Rev. Thomas Gray."—In 1809, Mr. Huntington married Miss Susan Mansfield, daughter of the Rev. Achilles Mansfield of Killingworth, Conn. Mrs. Huntington deceased in 1823. Her Memoirs have since been published. A son and three daughters survive.

Note 59. Page 49.

The following particulars respecting Dr. Eckley, in addition to those given in the text, are from his funeral sermon, by the Rev. Dr. Lathrop of the Old North Church. "Dr. Eckley was born in the city of London, [Oct. 11. 1750. O. S.,] and received the early part of his education in his native country. When he was about 17 years of age, his father removed his family to America, and settled himself on an estate in New Jersey. Soon after he placed this son in the college at Princeton, where he commenced bachelor of arts in the year 1772. His theological studies, from the time of his receiving the first honors of the college to his preaching, were under the direction of distinguished divines; and his first appearances in the pul-

pit were such as gave his friends great satisfaction." "The college in which Mr. Eckley received his education, conferred on him the degree of doctor in divinity, after he had been settled in the ministry about 15 years."

NOTE 60. PAGE 50.

The ministers and churches invited to the Council called for the ordination of the present pastor were, "Rev. Dr. Nott, President of Union College; the Rev. Professors Alexander and Miller of Princeton New Jersey; the Second Presbyterian Church in Albany, under the pastoral care of the Rev. Mr. Chester; the First Congregational church in West Springfield, under the pastoral care of the Rev. Mr. Sprague; the Rev. Professors of the Theological Institution at Andover, and the church under their care; together with all those pastors of churches who have, in conjunction with the said professors, aided in supplying our pulpit since the lamented decease of our late pastor the Rev. Mr. Huntington, with their respective churches, and in addition thereto, the West Church in Boston, under the care of the Rev. Mr. Lowell. The following is supposed to be a list of the pastors intended in this vote, viz. Messrs. D. Huntington, Codman, Storrs, Gile, Dwight, Fay, Holmes, Osgood, Edwards, Oliphant of Beverly, Cornelius, Worcester, Emerson of Salem, Emerson of Reading, Walker of Danvers, Green of Reading, Rockwood, and Jenks."

NOTE 61. PAGE 54.

Of Madam Norton previous to her marriage, I have been able to find no account, except the following hint in the life of her husband in the Magnalia. "In the year 1634, having married *a gentlewoman both of good estate and good esteem*, he took shipping for New England," &c. Mr. Norton, left no children.

The land now occupied by the Old South Meeting House, it would seem from the following extracts from Winthrop's Journal, i, 318, came very near being possessed for a similar purpose by the First Church. "Nov. 1639. Their old meeting house being decayed, and too small, they sold it away, and agreed to build another.....But there grew a great difference among the brethren where this new one should stand. Some were for the green, (which was the governor's first lot, and he had yielded it to the church, &c.); others, viz. the tradesmen especially, who dwelt about the market-place, desired it might stand still near the market, lest in time it should divert the chief trade from thence. The church referred it to the judgment and determination of five of the brethren, who agreed that the fittest place (all things considered) would be near the market; but, understanding that many of the brethren were unsatisfied, and desired rather that it might be put to a lot, they declared only their opinions in writing, and respited the full determination to another general meeting, thinking it very unsafe to proceed with the discontent of any considerable part of the church. When the church met, the matter was debated to and fro, and grew at length to some earnestness, &c.; but, after Mr. Cotton had cleared it up to them, that the removing it to the green would be a damage to such as dwelt by the market, who had there purchased and built at a great charge, but it would be no damage to the rest to have it by the market, because it would be no less, but rather more, convenient for them than where the former stood, they all yielded to have it set by the market-place; and, though some remained still in their opinion that the green were the fitter place, yet, for peace sake, they yielded to the rest by keeping silence while it passed."

It appears from Suffolk Records, Lib. 1, Fol. 102, that John Winthrop of Boston conveyed to his son Stephen Winthrop, 12. (9.) 1643, and recorded 26. (1.) 1648, "All that my lot or parcel of land in Boston, called the Greene, lyeing by the Spring" [in what is now called Spring Lane]; reserving to himself and Margaret his wife the use of half of it, and half of the buildings to be thereupon erected, "for the term of their lives and the longest liver." And from Lib. 3. Fol. 257, it appears that, on the 26th of March 1659, and recorded July 28, 1659, a conveyance was made as follows, viz. "Judith Winthropp of the Citie of Westminster in the County of Middlesex, Widow,

Relict of Stephen Winthropp late of James Street in Westminster Esqr. deceased—John Chamberlaine of the Cittie of Westminster Esqr. and Thomas Plumpin, Cittizen and Merchant Taylor of London—Executors of the last Will and Testament of the said Stephen Winthropp—to John Norton, Teacher to the Church of Boston—for the sum of £200,0,00—all that Messuage or Tennement with the appurtenances, and one Garden or Garden platt, to the said Messuage or Tenement adjoining and belonging, Contayning together in the whole by estimation One Acre, be the same more or lesse, now in the tennor or occupation of the said John Norton or his assigns, scittuate lying and being in Boston, which Messuage or tenement and Garden or Garden platt, doe abutt on the highway leading from Boston to Roxbury on the West, on the ground of Aamos Richardson the highway there leading to the Spring and the ground late of William Tilley on the North part, upon the ground late of William Hilliard Esq. and Robert Knight on the East, and on the highway there leading to the sea side on the South." &c.

Mrs. Norton's first deed was to "Capt. Thomas Savage, Capt. William Davis, Mr. Hezekiah Usher, Mr. Edward Rawson, Mr. John Hull, Mr. Peter Oliver, Mr. Josiah Scottow, Mr. Edward Ransford, Mr. Richard Trusdall, and Mr. Jacob Eliott, and to such as they shall associate to themselves, their heirs and successors forever; for the erecting of a House for their assembling themselves together publicly to worship God, as also the erecting of a Dwelling-house for such minister or ministers as shall be by them and their successors from time to time, orderly and regularly admitted for the pastor or teacher to the said church or assembly, and for the accommodation of the said dwelling house for the minister or ministers as shall from time to time so be chosen as aforesaid, and for the accommodation of the Meeting-House with convenient passages of ingress, egress and regress for the people that shall there, from time to time, assemble as aforesaid, and for no other intent, use or purpose whatsoever." Suffolk Rec. Lib. 6. folio 26.—Her second deed, after referring to the former one, and to the grantees therein named as "erecting a Meeting House on the place and becoming a church of Christ with whom I have had communion ever since," "absolutely, clearly, and fully grants and confirms" the piece of land described, "unto the said Thomas Savage, Edward Rawson, John Hull, Joshua Scottow, Edward Raynsford and Jacob Elliot yet alive, and to such as they have associated unto them in church fellowship, or shall be associated to them and to their heirs and successors forever, for the ends and purposes in the first above mentioned deed of April the first 1669 fully and amply declared:"....."to have and to hold the granted peace or parcell of land, with the house thereon erected, with the libertyes, privileges and appurtenances thereunto bounded and belonging as above expressed, for the ends and uses of the ministry that now is, or from time to time shall be, called by them, the said Thomas Savage," &c. "and such as now are associated to them, or shall be associated to that Church society, forever, their heirs and assigns, for their public worshipping of God, for the use of their ministers or ministry orderly chosen by said society, being the Third Church of Christ in Boston, from time to time, and at all times, forever." Suffolk Rec. Lib. 207, folio 241. And the following is a copy of the clause in her will which gave the remainder of the property. "*Item*, I give and bequeath unto the Third Church of Christ in Boston, my now dwelling house, with all the land belonging to the same, as it is situated near the Third Meeting House in Boston aforesaid, with all profits, privileges, rights and appurtenances whatsoever to the same belonging or appertaining, for the use of the ministry in the said church successively forever."

The two ancient parsonage houses were occupied by different ministers of the church as follows: The one on the main street, by Mr. Thatcher, Mr. Willard, Mr. Prince (who says in the advertisement to his Annals II, Winthrop "deceased in the very house I dwell in.") The one built in 1710 on Milk Street, was occupied by Mr. Pemberton, Dr. Sewall, Mr. Bacon. Of the present parsonage houses, immediately after their completion in 1810, Dr. Eckley moved into the west one, and Mr. Huntington into the other. After

Dr. Eckley's death, Mr. Huntington moved into the west house; which has ever since been occupied by the pastor.

There have been several instances of repairs on the Meeting House, since its reoccupancy in 1783; the principal of which were, in 1814, when the house was whitewashed &c. and painted on the outside for the first time; in 1824, when the house was new glazed, with new window sashes, &c., and furnaces erected for warming the house, and the brick wall built on the west side of the society's land, &c.; and in 1828, when the house was again whitewashed, painted inside and out, &c. &c. At the same time the stores were altered, and fitted up in the modern style.—In Sept. 1820, the society appointed a committee to procure an organ. One was procured in London; built, expressly for the society, by Mr. Thomas Eliott. Its cost in London, packed ready for delivery to the ship, £1,000 sterling. It was received in the fall of 1822. Its whole cost to the society, difference of exchange, transportation, putting up, &c. was $7,128. It is a very superior instrument. A description of it was published in the *Euterpiad*, formerly edited in this city, by Mr. John R. Parker, vol. 3. p. 133.

Note 62. Page 54.

It would seem from Judge Sewall's journal that meetings of the congregation had been held in a few instances before this time. "1711, 12, Midweek, April 2. Congregational meeting at South Ch. What ye Church had done in their nomination [of his son Joseph as pastor] was, by silent vote, approved." April 25, the church voted Joseph a call. "Lord's day, May 4, 1712. Mr. Pemberton speaks to the congregation; and, by a silent vote, Mr. David Jeffries, Col. Thomas Savage and Capt. John Gerrish are appointed to join with ye church's messengers to acquaint Mr. Joseph Sewall with his election."

Of the First Church in Boston, its historian says, p. 174, "Until now, [1730], the church, i. e. the male communicants, were alone concerned in fixing the ministers' salaries, and, in short, in making all pecuniary appropriations. But in this year, it was voted, that, whenever there is occasion for mony to be raised, the congregation be notified to meet with the church in the doing of it."—In the Second Church, we are told in its History, p. 33, "the conjunction of church and society in the management of their temporal concerns, first took place in May 1760." And from Eliot's History of the New North Church, p. 18, it appears, that the first meeting of the congregation to concur with the church in the choice of a minister was held July 16, 1738.

Note 63. Page 55.

This course of proceeding in settling a minister has been long and generally practised in the Congregational churches of this State, and has the sanction of our highest judicial authorities. Said the Hon. Judge Sedgwick, (in the case of Avery vs. Tyringham, Mass. Term Reports, iii. 173,) "It is worthy of observation, that the mode of settling ministers has continued in every respect the same, since the establishment of the Constitution, as it was before. The church call the minister; the town [or parish], at a legal meeting, concur in the invitation, and vote the salary; at the time appointed he is set apart to his office, according to the forms of that religious sect to which the parties belong." And Chief Justice Parsons, in the same case, remarked, "An adherence to these usages so manifestly tends to the preservation of good order, and harmony among the people in the exercise of their religious privileges, it may be presumed that a departure from them will never be admitted by any town [or parish] but in cases of necessity." And Chief Justice Parker, in relation to this subject, says, (xvi. 510.) "We agree with him," (Judge Parsons) "in estimating highly these ancient usages, protected as the people are by the constitutional provision, and in hoping that they may be observed in future, as they have been in past times."

NOTE 64. PAGE 59.

In Sept. 1728, it had been voted, "Yt such as come into full comunion shou'd make a public profession of yr. repentance towards God, and faith in or Ld. J. C.; of yr. belief of the Scriptures as a perfect rule of faith and life, and of yr. resolution, by the grace of God, to walk according to ym." Records, i. 27. This profession was made by the candidate, either in his relation read by the pastor, or assented to as repeated by the pastor after the reading of the relation.

The form of profession of faith adopted March 1769, was as follows,— "You do solemnly profess your belief in the one only living and true God— the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, in whose name you have been baptized. You acknowledge that, in virtue of this great privilege, you are indispensably bound to devote yourself to Him, to love, obey and serve him according to his Gospel. And you do now declare, that, as far as you know your own heart, it is your unfeigned desire and prevailing disposition so to do, agreeable to the obligation you have owned.—You do further profess your belief in the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, as a revelation of God, which contains the words of eternal life, and is the only perfect rule of faith and practice.—And, particularly, you profess to believe what God has therein revealed concerning the fall of man, and the consequent depravity of human nature; concerning the way of salvation through Jesus Christ, his incarnation, his obedience and sufferings, his resurrection and intercession; concerning the necessity of faith in his righteousness, as that on the merit of which alone we may expect the forgiveness of our sins and acceptance with God; and, lastly, concerning the necessity of the influences of the Holy Spirit of God, to renew and sanctify us, and to quicken us to a life of evangelical obedience."

This profession having been made, and the candidate admitted by a vote of the brethren, the pastor proposed the following covenant.

"As you have now been admitted by this church to a full communion with them in the special privileges of Christ's visible kingdom, You do solemnly promise to walk with them in a due submission to and attendance upon all the orders and ordinances of the Gospel; and that, through the help of the Spirit, you will endeavor to adorn the profession you have made with a holy, blameless, fruitful conversation.—*This you do promise?*

"We do also, by the help of the same Spirit promise you," &c. precisely as in the present covenant.

The present covenant, adopted Nov. 3, 1769, is as follows:—

"YOU DO NOW, in the presence of God, and before his holy angels, and this assembly, solemnly profess to give up yourself, to GOD THE FATHER, as your chief good,—to THE SON OF GOD, as your Mediator, Head and Lord, relying upon Him as the Prophet, Priest and King of you salvation,—to THE HOLY SPIRIT OF GOD, as your Sanctifier, Guide and Comforter, to be a temple for Him to dwell in.—You profess to give up yourself to this ONE GOD, who is the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, in an EVERLASTING COVENANT, TO LOVE, OBEY AND SERVE HIM FOREVER.

"You also promise to walk with this Church of Christ, in a due submission to, and attendance upon, all the orders and ordinances of the Gospel; and that, by the help of the Spirit, you will adorn this your profession, by a holy, blameless, fruitful life and conversation.—*This you do promise?*

"We also do, by the help of the same Spirit, promise you, that we will carry it towards you, as towards those brought up with us in the fellowship of the saints. We will watch over you, not for your halting, but for your edification. We will counsel, reprove, comfort, and exhort you, as your circumstances, and our acquaintance therewith, shall require."

NOTE 65. PAGE 60.

The Unitarians, generally, not only permit, but urge, all the members of their congregations of a sober and moral life to come to the communion, and baptize all children for whom the administration of the ordinance is requested. Yet, in the History of the Second Church, of two changes "of magni-

tude and importance" which are specially noticed, one is that, "for nearly fifty years the doctrines of Calvin have not been heard within these walls, but a milder, happier faith has won sinners to heaven." The other is, that, "in the days of our fathers, the number of those who felt so far bound to their religion as to observe its peculiar rites, was much larger than amongst ourselves." "While our places of public worship are as fully and seriously attended, and the purposes of Christianity in ordinary life as well accomplished, the table of the Lord witnesses a thinner attendance, and more of our children grow up without baptism." pp. 34, 35.

Note 66. Page 61.

No point was more carefully guarded by the first generations than the doctrinal belief and religious character of their ministers. Says Trumbull, (Hist. of Conn. i. 313,) referring to the period which preceded the Synod of 1662, "The elders and churches were exceedingly strict, with respect to those whom they ordained; examining them, not only in the three learned languages, and doctrinal points of theology, with respect to cases of conscience, and their ability to defend Christianity and its doctrines against infidels and gainsayers, but with respect to their own experimental, heart religion. All those who were to be ordained over any church, previously to their separation to the sacred office, satisfied the brotherhood of their spiritual birth, and were admitted to their communion and fellowship. None were ordained or installed over any church, until after they had been admitted to its full communion and fellowship."—And it appears that, of the ancient churches in this city, the Old South was not the only one that continued the practices designed to obtain satisfaction as to the orthodoxy and piety of those they called to be their pastors, long after 1662. The following are extracts from Eliot's Historical Notices of the New North Church. "May 28, 1739, Mr. Thomas Prentiss and Mr. John Burt were invited on probation, three Sabbaths. On the 9th of July following, it was voted to come to the choice of one of them as pastor. 'But, as the settlement of a minister is an affair wherein the honor of God and of our Lord Jesus Christ, and also the salvation of precious souls, are most nearly concerned, it is the indispensable duty of every church to introduce no man into the pastoral office, but one who, with other desirable qualifications, is sound in the faith of the Gospel, and of a good conversation in Jesus Christ. It is therefore proposed, that the person upon whom the lot shall fall, be strictly examined concerning his Christian principles, both doctrinal and disciplinary. And also particularly to inquire into his Christian conversation; and that the church do receive satisfaction in regard to the premises before they fully confirm the choice.' Thomas Prentiss was then elected. The pastor, the ruling elders, two deacons, and three brethren, were appointed to make the aforesaid examination. The committee were instructed, 'Forasmuch as several important doctrines of Christianity are vigorously opposed by Deists, Socinians, Arians and Arminians, and the faith of professors is in great danger of being perverted; the committee will particularly demand the most explicit confession of his faith; and invite him to preach one half of each Sabbath, until said committee shall make a report.' After the conclusion of the sacramental lecture on the 10th of August, the committee appointed to examine Mr. Prentiss reported a confession of his faith, which he had put into their hands, which was distinctly read; and the church voted unanimously that they were satisfied of his orthodoxy." He, however, declined their call. On the 15th of December following, Mr. Rogers was chosen. "The ceremony of the examination, as in regard to Mr. Prentiss, was to be observed, and the choice not to be final till the church should be satisfied as to his soundness in the faith." Mr. Rogers did not accept. Jan. 11, 1742, Mr. Andrew Eliot was called. "A committee, consisting of the pastor and officers of the church, with three brethren, were chosen to examine the candidate, according to the established rule, who were directed not to receive

an affirmative answer until the brethren should be satisfied as to his sentiments and belief. Mr. Eliot sent his confession of faith on the 21st of February 1742, which was distinctly read to the church after the congregation was dismissed, and was accepted. On the 28th his acceptance of their invitation was announced. He was ordained the 14th of April following." And when Mr. John Eliot was called in 1779, he "presented a dismission and recommendation from the church in Dedham, and was admitted a member of the New North; also a confession of his faith, which was accepted." pp. 17, 18, 19, 20, 32.

Jc

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